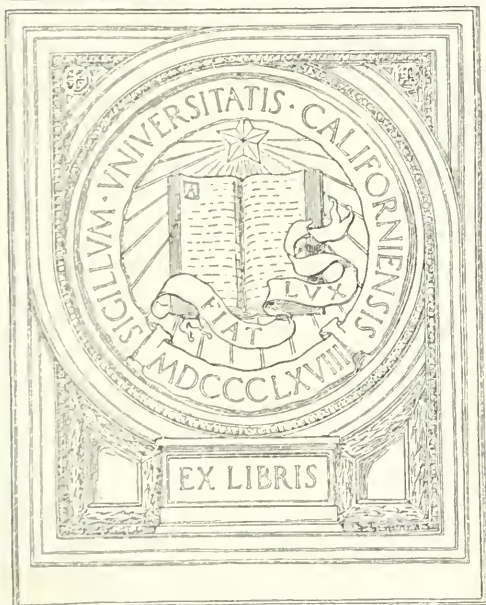


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THE
LIFE AND SERVICES
OF
CAPTAIN PHILIP BEAVER.

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THE
LIFE AND SERVICES
OF
CAPTAIN PHILIP BEAVER,
LATE OF
HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP NISUS.

BY CAPTAIN W. H. SMYTH, R. N., K. S. F.,
F. R. S., AND F. S. A.

*Member of the Astronomical Society of London ; and of the Society for the
Geography, Statistics, and Natural History of Tuscany.*



LONDON :
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

MDCCCLXXIX.

LONDON:
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES,
Stanford-street.

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23855

TO
THE MOST NOBLE
JOHN, DUKE OF ATHOLL, K.T.
Esq. Esq. Esq.

MY LORD DUKE,

The interest which your Grace has ever taken in the welfare of the British Navy, would induce any writer to expect your Grace's condescension in perusing the memoir of a brave officer; but the repeated acts of kindness which I have experienced at your hands, give me the strongest grounds for hoping that the pages which I have now the honour of dedicating to your Grace, will not be looked upon with an unfavourable or an indifferent eye.

It is not, however, by the liberality displayed by your Grace to the merits of Naval officers, that your fame will alone be perpetuated:—large tracts of land, enriched, by your Grace's public spirit, with upwards of thirty millions of trees, will call forth the applause of a grateful people, as long as the empire shall exist!

It is a satisfaction which may cause even the blood of the illustrious House of Murray to beat high, when your Grace reflects that the forests which now shadow the once naked mountains of your extensive domains—planted in

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part by the hand of a beloved parent, and since continued on a still grander scale by yourself—may hereafter waft the British thunder upon their proud timbers, and echo back the triumph to their native shades.

Already has the axe been applied—and that fine frigate, the Atholl, with several smaller vessels, has been highly extolled, both by builders and navigators. And the state of the brig “Larch,” which I had the honour of visiting with your Grace, on her return from a fourth voyage to the Black Sea, and which was entirely constructed with the timber of Blair Atholl and Dunkeld, was more satisfactory in the leading points of durability, than that of any ship of her class which I ever inspected. Who but must envy the gratifying feelings of him who has stepped the deck of a vessel, the trees for the building of which he had himself planted!

That your Grace may long enjoy the happiness which such virtuous patriotism produces, and all other blessings so well deserved by your goodness, is the sincere wish and prayer of,

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace’s obliged,

And obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM HENRY SMYTH.

Crescent, Bedford, }
4th April, 1829. }

INTRODUCTION.

To a nation like the English, which owes so much to the valour of its seamen, the life of a Naval Officer will always be acceptable. Such a narration seems to be but a just tribute of respect to those, whose bravery and skill have merited the acknowledgment of posterity, by extending the powers and exalting the honour of their country; and especially to him, whose exploits, without offence to any of our heroes, may safely claim a parallel with their most successful achievements.

A relation of the actions of individuals is at once a reward and an encouragement to merit; and the province of modern memoirs, not being restricted, as with the minstrels of yore, to the vicissitudes of the great, is well adapted to preserve deserving characters from the noxious breath of envy, and the invidious whisper of detraction. In describing a personal career, the principles of

action should be investigated and carefully defined, in order that genuine ardour may be distinguished from spurious. Love of glory supports the energies drawn forth in battle; but fortitude is, perhaps, more truly and extensively tried in lingering blockades and pestilential climates, in the noise of many waters, and the darkness of the moonless gale; and, indeed, in most of the occurrences incidental to maritime life. But many a mediocral man, borne on the tide of ephemeral success, is decked with laurels, while others of ardent zeal and acknowledged talents pine in the intricacies of service, and are scarcely lifted above oblivion's surge. Thus it was with the subject of this memoir, whose merits, except in the navy, were not known as they justly deserved; nor were the rewards he received at all commensurate with the prosperous results of his skill. It is, therefore, an imperious duty to point out the claims of deserving individuals to the notice of their country; and to show that, though mere chance may confer both riches and popularity, abilities only can procure fame.

As Biography is, of the various kinds of writing, generally admitted to be that which is most eagerly

read, and most easily applied to the purposes of life, it may be encouraging to the junior officer to be informed, that the rank which Captain Beaver obtained was wholly acquired by his own merit. With the sportiveness of youth, he will be found to have cherished a zeal to excel; and to have cautiously meditated the path to eminence, whilst he associated with the thoughtless. And although the sphere of his usefulness was greatly abridged by a premature death, his bright example may serve as a beacon to all those who feel the glow of conscious worth.

If Dr. Johnson be right, “that there has rarely passed a life, of which a judicious and authentic narrative would not be useful,” it will be seen that Captain Beaver’s is certainly not the exception. It might have been given in a better dress, by the professed scholar, but utility was the great aim; and the whole relation being founded in truth, needs no adventitious varnish or embellishment. I therefore trust that if I fail of giving satisfaction, it will be rather in circumstantial than essential requisites. The general reader may find too many technical terms for his taste, and an almost monotonous succession of battles in the very outset. Yet it

must be remembered, that nothing could be more appropriate, than extracts from the young midshipman's characteristic descriptions.

The peculiar talent of the French for pointing phrases, makes many an observation pass current, which has but little sterling value. "Point de heros pour son valet de chambre," is one of those aphorisms which gratify the vanity of common minds, by lowering the standard of human excellence. The behaviour of Beaver in sickness, in conflict, or in tempest, fully proves the fallacy of the silly adage; and displays the broad distinction between magnanimity and the bombast of acted heroism. Indeed, the more his springs of action are investigated, the more highly must this officer be appreciated by the naval community.

In no profession is a steady and determined character so necessary as in that of the royal navy. The first step upon deck is fraught with instruction, and almost before his amazement has subsided, the stripling is both tutored into obedience, and entrusted with power. Those alone become skilful seamen, who commence their career from childhood: we shall see how early and how diligently our youth applied himself to attain an

accurate knowledge of his duty, and how solidly judgment may be strengthened, by the natural and easy process of keeping a rational journal.

Nor is it with the acquisition of the rudiments of navigation alone, that the accomplished officer will be satisfied ; for all the more elevated branches of astronomy, naval architecture, and nautical science, constitute a part of his knowledge, and fit him more immediately for the development of prompt resources, when occasion may urgently demand them.

Of courage it is scarcely necessary to speak, for where is the British seaman without it ?

But so various and important are the avocations of an intelligent commander, that it is difficult to define them. At one time, he is seen contending with the fury of the troubled elements ; at another, rushing with impetuosity upon the foe ;—now treating with the wily savage ; and anon, prescribing terms of capitulation to the vanquished garrison. Every well performed deed is its own reward ; but whilst he thinks only of the glory of his country, he may be sure that the pen of the historian is silently recording his fame.

It were visionary, however, to suppose that life

in any station can pass wholly without some undeserved diminution of happiness ;—our hero was a man of too decided a character, and engaged in too active a scene, not to encounter the opposition of many rivals, and the malignant jealousy of some who were envious. And although it may occasionally happen that, when competition is at an end, the injured person may receive from his invidious opponent an acknowledgment of his merit, yet that want of unity which tarnishes the noble spirit of the navy, often militates against its best interests ; and from such a baneful cause, the connecting bond of its members has been, though too severely, stigmatized as “ a rope of sand.” But discarding all illiberal reflections, it may triumphantly be asserted, that in the loftier points of patriotism, courage, and skill, and in defiance of the pestilential influence of corruption, dissension, and folly, the hardy sons of England’s fleet will ever preserve unsullied the honour and independence, which are so confidently committed to their care.

It is left for the friends of this sterling man to deplore the early age at which they were deprived of his presence by sickness, and, with fond

endearment, to contemplate in idea that bright distinction which his genius would undoubtedly have achieved. Faithful extracts from his journal will show the extent and variety of his observations, and that true pride of soul with which he received the commission of a captain, as one of the most gratifying authorities which can be delegated to a member of the community.

As, in the tide of battle, his intrepidity was tempered with coolness, so in the hour of victory it was chastened by the tenderest dictates of humanity. And as his principles had from earliest infancy been imbued with devotion, so the whole tenor of his life confirmed the happy denomination of a sincere Christian: he affords an instructive instance of how well a good and lofty character may be supported, amidst the busiest scenes of martial enterprise, and mental exertion.

I have now merely to add, that a few papers which were considered unnecessary to the narrative, will be subjoined as an appendix, by which the reader will have an opportunity of seeing Captain Beaver's varied style, from youth to middle age. The first is a copy of verses, dated in his fifteenth year, and affords a proof, that although

he professed to slight the muses, he could not always resist the influence of the lyre. The second article is introduced to show the ardent patriotism by which he was actuated, even in circumstances of the most trying nature, and exhibits a warmth of feeling highly creditable to him as an officer. The letter to Sir Robert Wilson is an instance of his estimation of accuracy in geography; a branch in which naval and military men, by a little investigation in the several countries they necessarily visit, might add largely to the general stock of knowledge, and correct the present discreditable nomenclature of map-sellers. The detailed report of his visit to the Caraccas will prove an interesting historical document: it is here added, because it is more carefully written in his manuscripts, than it appears to be in the part published in the *Memoirs of General Miller*.

Captain Beaver published various strictures on public affairs, under the names of Themistocles and Juvenis; he also printed a small pamphlet on the importance of the Saints, a group of isles near Guadaloupe, as a naval station. Two of his papers, however, which have appeared before the public, under the signatures of Nearchus and

Buntin, being corrected with his own hand, I considered it would be acceptable to reprint them. This I do the more readily, because I fully coincide in the soundness of his deductions, on the probable result of invading this country. But it now becomes a matter of deep interest, to watch what changes may be effected in these points, from the new principles of operation to be looked for, in the application of STEAM. This truly formidable medium of transit, defence, and destruction, being alike independent of tide, wind, and wave, may yet alter the whole system of tactics, and become the chief element of annoyance to our shores; however unnatural it would be for the glory of Great Britain to receive any check from one of her own inventions.



THE
L I F E
OF
CAPTAIN PHILIP BEAVER, R. N.

“ Ah! who can tell how hard it is to climb
The steep, where Fame’s proud temple shines afar ;
Ah! who can tell how many a soul sublime
Has felt the influence of malignant star,
And waged with Fortune an unequal war !”

THE family of Beaver came into England from the Isle of Guernsey, and settled at an early period in Essex; of which county Osmond Beauvoir, Esq., of Downham, was high-sheriff in 1742. That branch from which the subject of these pages was descended changed the orthography of their name from Beauvoir to Beaver; and the animal of the same appellation was assumed by them for their crest. The former armorial bearing was also couched in a pun, it being a man looking from a high tower. This heraldic notice may be sufficient to point out the Captain’s family and descent; it is his personal conduct which should rather be

depicted ; for it has been well observed, that mere pride of ancestry cheats only the rabble,

By flinging dead men's dust in idiots' eyes.

This stock belonged strictly to that middle class of society which is considered as most favourable to virtue and to happiness,—a temperate region, neither enervated by the blaze of prosperity, nor depressed by the chilling blasts of poverty. Most of the kindred were persons of education ; but were more remarkable for solid talent than the attainment of high rank.

It must be matter of well-founded gratification to the clergy, when they contemplate the splendid heroes who have emanated from their Order ; and probably no other class of the community has contributed so large a proportion of officers to the army and navy as this respectable branch. Need we mention Nelson, Hood, Bridport, Graves, and Keats? though few of these were of families so entirely clerical as the subject of this memoir ; for, with the exception of his paternal grandfather, almost every one of his ancestors were divines.

John Beaver, or Bever, was a Benedictine monk of Westminster Abbey, and flourished about the beginning of the fourteenth century. He was a man of quick parts, and of great diligence and ingenuity ; and applied himself particularly to the

study of the history and antiquities of England. Amongst other things, he compiled a *Chronicle of British and English Affairs*, from the fabled arrival of Brute to his own time, which is now preserved among the Cottonian manuscripts, and has been commended by Hearne, Leland, and Stowe. He also wrote a book *De Rebus Cænobii Westmonasteriensis*, and the several transactions relating to the abbey.

There was another of the same name, a monk of St. Alban's, who left behind him a collection of treatises, which are now extant in the King's library.

Thomas Beaver, an eminent scholar and civilian, was born at Mortimer, in Berkshire, in 1725, and educated at All Souls College, Oxford, of which he became a Fellow, and obtained the degree of Doctor of Law. He published *The History of the Legal Polity of the Roman State*, a work which displays deep research, and an extensive fund of learning. It is much to be lamented that he did not live to complete his plan; but, by his will, he expressly forbade any part of his manuscripts to be printed. Dr. Coote says, that he committed the sequel of this work to the flames in his last illness.

The Rev. Edward Beaver settled in Hampshire, and supported a numerous family in the greatest respectability. His seventh son, Herbert,

the grandfather of our hero, resided at Oxford, where his wit and urbanity are still remembered by a few surviving members of his standing in that university.

James, his eldest son, was educated at Winchester school, from whence he proceeded to Oriel College, and afterwards held a benefice in Devonshire, in the gift of that society. He married, in January, 1760, Jane, the only child of the Rev. Thomas Skeeler, fellow of All Souls, and afterwards vicar of Lewknor, a man of sound piety and erudition. Mr. and Mrs. Beaver resided on the curacy of Lewknor, respected and beloved by their parishioners, for seventeen years, where they had eight children, two of whom died in their infancy. Philip, their third son, was born in this quiet dwelling, on the 28th of February, 1766, and, with his brothers, received the early part of his education at a respectable school in the neighbouring town of Watlington.

In the summer of 1777, Mr. Beaver was presented to the living of Monk-Silver, in the county of Somerset; but, alas! when brighter prospects were opening upon his large and increasing family, he was suddenly snatched away in the vigour of life, and in the very act of preparing to remove to his new residence!

In the complicated misery of her situation, Mrs.

Beaver experienced the tenderest sympathy, and most active kindness, from all who had the pleasure of knowing her. The late General and Mrs. Caillaud, of Aston, in Oxfordshire, immediately proposed that one of her sons should be sent to sea; and, at their request, Captain Joshua Rowley, who then commanded the *Monarch*, was induced to undertake the charge.

Philip, being now eleven years of age, was, from his ardent predilection for a maritime life, selected upon this occasion, and his delight was expressed in the most rapturous manner, although he had never seen the sea, nor scarcely a boat. His character, however, already began to display itself—for being sent alone to take leave of several families in the neighbourhood, particularly of his godfather, Philip Viscount Wenman, they were all strongly impressed by indications of that intelligence and spirit for which he was afterwards so remarkable.

The time now approached when the visions of youthful fancy were to be realized, and in October, 1777, young Beaver commenced his naval career. We need scarcely dwell on the feelings which are experienced on first embarking on so grand an element as the ocean. The interior of a ship presents society under a phasis equally novel and surprising—every one punctiliously plying in

his own peculiar station, and scrupulously avoiding any encroachment on the duties of another. Thus, though the power of the captain is supreme, each subordinate rank has its special theatre of action ; and while the deck-officer contemplates the heavens, the solemn day-mate seldom emerges from his subaqueous realms. Fortune, who reigns, more or less, in every profession, sways the destinies of sailors with the utmost despotism : yet to court this virago the bonds of social life and domestic felicity are dissevered, and the rigours of martial duty and the faithless elements cheerfully encountered. In the navy there is a greater community of interests than in any other service ; and whether tossed on the billowy wave, or lying motionless on the bosom of a glassy sea—whether in the face of day, or the gloom of night—the business of existence is carried on with a regularity, cleanliness, and comfort, inexplicable to those unacquainted with maritime life. Well may our wonderful floating bulwarks be the pride of their country, for they have ever essentially promoted both her glory and her independence ; and a man of war performing its evolutions must inspire the finest feelings of patriotism of which a Briton is capable. Thus, notwithstanding the harassing fatigues incident to the profession, when the noble machine is once under weigh—

She walks the waters like a thing of life,
And seems to dare the elements to strife.
Who would not brave the battle fire—the wreck—
To move the monarch of her peopled deck ?

At this period Great Britain was involved in the unnatural war with her Colonies in America, and, by the misguided councils of France, at length also with that haughty nation. Although there was great diversity of opinion respecting the means of obtaining, and the terms of securing peace with America, yet but one sentiment prevailed as to France, whose treacherous interference the public regarded with due indignation. The menaces of our ancient and inveterate enemy, however unlikely to be realized, occasioned vigorous exertions;—the militia was embodied, camps were formed, and the country resounded with the clamour of arms.

The high reputation of Admiral Keppel indicated him as most fit to assume the command of the Grand Fleet. His appointment was frequently mentioned in terms of high approbation by members of both parties in parliament, and when the hostile designs of France were indisputable, he was entrusted with ample discretionary powers for the defence of the kingdoms.

With twenty sail of the line, of which number the Monarch was one, Admiral Keppel sailed from

St. Helen's on the 13th of June, 1778, and on the 17th of that month, two frigates, the *Licorne* and *Belle Poule*, were discovered reconnoitring his fleet. Although war was not declared, yet the Admiral, in virtue of his full powers, gave orders to chase, and conduct them under his stern. The former remained with the squadron during the night, but in the morning, after attempting to sail away, and treacherously firing a broadside into the *America*, she struck her colours, and was captured. The commander of the *Belle Poule* refused to attend and speak to the British Admiral; and, after an obstinate engagement, having disabled the *Arethusa*, made his escape.

But as this was our young midshipman's first cruize, I may be excused for quoting his own account of it, as a pleasing specimen of his acuteness of observation, within so short a time as nine months from his first going on board.

And I may here also take occasion to observe, that, in this Memoir, it is my design rigidly to adhere to our officer's own descriptions, only promising, from collateral sources, such introductory information as may render the narrative more connected and distinct; being fully sensible, that, independent of the justice which is due to his memory, his own words will best convey the perspicuity and energy of his sentiments to the reader.

“The Admiral,” he observes, “made the signal for a general chase, and we soon found that we drew ahead of the fleet, which gave us high hopes of being the first up. In the afternoon the strangers parted, and steered different ways, but the largest ship, which proved to be the Belle Poule, and a fine schooner, continued their course. The Milford then fired several shot at the other frigate, to make her bear down, and soon after the Hector proceeded with her towards the Admiral. About sunset we saw the Arethusa and Alert cutter within hail of the Belle Poule; the former sent a shot across her fore foot, which was immediately returned with a broadside, and both ships proceeded desperately to close action, as did also the Alert and the schooner. We thereupon altered our course to aid them, and shewed a light at our jib-boom end as a signal, but before we could come up the battle was over. At midnight we sent boats on board the Arethusa, which was much crippled, and had nearly fifty men killed and wounded: at the same time we found the Alert, after a severe struggle, had mastered the schooner, and now desired our assistance. Having given all the help in our power, we took the frigate’s pilot on board, and stood after the Belle Poule; it being thick foggy weather, all the boats ahead towing, and the ship close to the

land. At daybreak it cleared off a little, and we saw our French friend in-shore of us, greatly cut up, and marks of blood descending from each scupper hole. We were now joined by the Valiant, and the boats gave way, with loud cheers, till about seven, when the pilot thinking it hazardous to stand in any nearer, and the enemy being assisted by several small craft, we reluctantly hauled our wind."

Keppel, apprised by papers found on board the *Licorne*, and other intelligence, that anchorage was ordered in Brest harbour for thirty-two men of war, and three times the number of frigates and smaller vessels, retired into Portsmouth. There was reason, however, to believe that the papers were fabricated on purpose to deceive; nor did the Admiral escape censure for disgracing the grand fleet by a retreat without calling a council of war. Some inveighed against the ministry for extreme negligence,—others reproached the Admiral, and the public prints even threatened him with the fate of Byng.

At this alarming crisis the exertions of the Admiralty were equal to the magnitude of the impending danger. Lord Sandwich himself hastened to Portsmouth, reinforced the Grand Fleet with four ships of the line, and, on the 9th of July, Admiral Keppel put to sea, and was speedily

joined by six others. The greater part of this force was in good condition and well appointed, and though deficient in the ordinary proportion of frigates, the Admiral did not hesitate to sail in pursuit of the enemy, who had already left Brest.

The hostile fleets gained sight of each other on the 23rd of July, off Ushant, and Count d'Orvillers manifested an inclination to engage; but on nearing our line, and perceiving it had been reinforced, he altered his course, although he had still a superiority of two men of war, and several frigates. The weather was very squally, and as the line could not be preserved without risk of the French getting out of sight to the westward, the signal flew for general chase. Four days were consumed in manœuvring,—the one seeking, the other declining battle, which, as the Count was to windward, was always at his option.

At length, on the 27th, after several evolutions, the wind suddenly shifting brought the rival armaments so near that a conflict became inevitable. The enemy, however, still determined to avoid a close engagement, and bracing about unexpectedly, crossed our fleet on the opposite tack; by which the *Monarch* and *Shrewsbury*, the headmost ships of Vice-Admiral Harland's division, received the fire of their whole line. The reserved cannonade of the British made dreadful

execution ; but the French having, in their usual manner, directed their battery against the rigging, the divisions which were most exposed were terribly torn and disabled. The engagement lasted nearly three hours ; at the end of which time, the fleets having passed each other, the firing ceased.

During the darkness of night, the French, placing three frigates with lights to deceive the English, made sail for their own coasts, and were by the next morning almost out of sight. Keppel, finding pursuit to be vain, returned to Plymouth to refit, while d'Orvilliers, unmolested, regained the harbour of Brest, and abandoned his trade to the depredations of British cruizers.

The bitter dissensions which followed, between two of the Admirals, are not the object of the present pages ; but, it may be remarked, that however indecisive this battle proved, young Philip was in the very heat of the fighting which had taken place ;—for, besides the havoc made in her crew, the *Monarch* had her spars and rigging seriously injured, and her hammock-nettings set on fire by the enemy's wads. Such early service is fortunate to the boy who encounters it ; for a series of hardships and shifts are absolutely necessary to accustom naval men to rely on their own resources :

“ Ne'er from the lap of luxury and ease
Shall spring the hardy warrior of the seas—

A toilsome youth the mariner must form,
Nursed on the wave, and cradled in the storm."

To the kindness of General Caillaud, young Beaver owed not only his introduction into the navy but the most friendly reception on returning from his several cruizes. On one of these occasions he met the venerable Admiral Forbes, whose integrity was inflexibly manifested in conscientiously refusing to sign the sentence upon Admiral Byng. As the late engagement was the general subject of attention, and the merits of the question were discussed with all the violence and acrimony of party, even the youthful midshipman was closely examined by the aged veteran respecting it. Amongst other matters, he was asked his personal opinion of the two recriminating flag-officers, when, with that decided condemnation of any backwardness in the performance of duty which marked his maturer life, he warmly answered, "*they both deserve to be shot!*"

After an animated conversation, Admiral Forbes declared that he had never heard a consistent account of the combat before, and remarked that Beaver was an extraordinary and most promising boy.

On the 17th of December, 1778, Commodore Rowley hoisted his broad pendant on board the Suffolk, and took all the officers of the Monarch

with him. On the 25th, they weighed anchor, in company with a numerous fleet, and soon after the Russel man of war ran foul of the London Indiaman with such violence, that the latter lost her foremast, fired several guns of distress, and then foundered! From Torbay, the Suffolk proceeded across the Bay of Biscay, where the convoy separated for their respective destinations, and Rowley took charge of seven sail of the line to reinforce Admiral Byron at St. Lucia.

The disaster just mentioned deeply affected the feelings of young Beaver, who witnessed it; and it is recorded in a melancholy letter from an officer, dated Spithead, January 1st, 1779, that the Russel sailed from that port on Saturday, the 26th of December, with one of the finest fleets ever seen; "but alas!" adds the writer, "we met with our usual ill-luck. On Monday last, off Berry-head, it blowing a fresh breeze from the S.W., and under close-reefed topsails, being near the London East Indiaman, and finding we could not weather her, she on one tack and we on the other, we bore away; during which she clapped her helm a-weather, and we ran right on board, which stove in her bow; in half an hour she sunk, and the greater part of her crew perished, out of 160 only 50 were saved! It was a dismal sight to behold the men standing on the gunwale as she

went down! What rendered the scene still more melancholy, a man of war's boat, with several hands, who very humanely, at the risk of their own lives, had picked up ten or eleven of the London's crew, and were endeavouring to save more, got directly over the place where she went down, the suction of which was so great that it drew the boat under, and they all perished."

The West Indies had already become a very important theatre of war, and Dominica was wrested from us before any instructions were received by Admiral Barrington. As a counter-blow, the colony of St. Lucia was invaded; but we had scarcely obtained a footing, when a French fleet, of more than double our numbers, unexpectedly hove in sight to rescue it. To all appearance our armament was completely entrapped; but the celerity with which the surrendered posts were occupied by General Grant, and the resolute defence of the squadron against two furious assaults of the powerful foe, baffled the attempt. After repeated evolutions by land and sea, in all of which he was foiled, D'Estaing sullenly relinquished a contest from which he had augured both profit and honour: and the whole island capitulated, whilst he was yet in sight. Things were in this state on the junction of the ship in which our youngster served; and it seemed to be his peculiar

fortune to have an early and full initiation into positive service, for the French having also been reinforced, affairs assumed an active aspect.

During the spring of 1779, D'Estaing made frequent manifestations, by appearing in force off Gros-islet bay; but pertinaciously avoided an action. He was apparently watching, with all the caution of a Fabius, for a favourable moment of striking a decisive blow, and submitted to insult from an equal force rather than depart from the prudent policy which he had adopted. His motions, however, kept our officers and seamen constantly on the alert, as a battle was daily expected,—and young Beaver's journals testify the number of nights he was obliged to sleep at his quarters.

The month of June was employed in collecting the trade of the various settlements to the general rendezvous at St. Kitt's. While waiting there, our youth was despatched by Rowley, who had now hoisted his flag, to the assistance of the Supply, storeship, which was on fire; but all endeavours to extinguish the flames being ineffectual, they cut her cables and towed her out clear of the shipping, when she blew up with a most awful crash.

As this was an extremely valuable fleet, the meritorious but unfortunate Byron*, found it necessary

* This Admiral's ill fortune was so proverbial as to occasion the remark that he had "*never once met with a fair wind.*"

to escort them to a certain distance, with the whole of his strength. This was precisely the occasion for which the French Commander had watched; because, had the Admiral sent an inferior force with the convoy, he would easily have effected its capture or destruction; and, on the other hand, it being thus guarded, there was nothing to interfere with his designs against such of our Caribbean settlements as appeared to be most defenceless. Accordingly the island of St. Vincent was invested, and being in a miserable state of distraction, the governor yielded without resistance.

D'Estaing, again reinforced by a division under La Motte Piquet, commanded thirty-four ships of war, twenty-six of which were of the line, and a number of transports sufficient for the conveyance of 9000 soldiers. He proceeded to the attack of Granada, which was defended only by 150 regulars, and about 4000 militia, who, being principally Frenchmen, soon diminished the garrison, by desertions, to less than three hundred. Lord Macartney, the governor, considering this force sufficient for the defence of some strong posts, until succours could arrive, refused to capitulate. D'Estaing, unwilling to sacrifice the time requisite for regular approaches, stormed the lines; the garrison defended themselves with skill and

bravery : once they repulsed the assailants, but being obliged to yield to numbers, retired into the fort, and had the mortification to see their own cannon turned against them. Lord Macartney now proposed terms of capitulation, which the ungenerous victor rejected ; and proffered others, so dishonourable, that the high-spirited governor preferred a surrender at discretion, to the baseness of subscribing them, and the French plundered without scruple or restraint.

A principal reason for pressing with such rapidity the reduction of Granada, was the intelligence of Admiral Byron's return, which had been retarded by winds and currents. He had formed, with General Grant, a project for the recovery of St. Vincent's ; but receiving, while at sea, information that the French squadron before Granada was reduced to nineteen sail, and that Lord Macartney could maintain his position a fortnight, he changed his first destination, and attempted to succour that island. Having twenty-one ships of the line, he arranged his signals for bringing on a general action, and did not discover the fallacy of his intelligence until several of his vessels were engaged. D'Estaing, notwithstanding his superiority of force, and the great advantage which he derived from the excellent condition of his fleet, avoided a close and general conflict ; and, foiled in all attempts to

cut off the transports and intercept the disabled vessels, retired in the night to Granada.

The British Admiral, conscious of his inferiority in strength, despatched his transports and crippled ships to St. Christopher's, and calmly awaited the morning's attack, which, judging by his own character, he deemed inevitable. The returning dawn discovered to him the retreat of the enemy, and seeing the white flag mounted on the forts of Granada, he returned into port.

Mr. Beaver's account of the action is as follows : —“ July the 6th, at day-break, we observed several French ships getting under weigh in St. George's bay, and others confusedly beating on and off outside. Soon after, the signal for close battle was thrown out, several of our dashers being already at it, and the Vice-admiral blazing away on both sides. We, having resigned the charge of the transports, now bore down for the van ship, and in passing, opened a warm, and seemingly effective fire on a large two-decker ; but as the smoke cleared off, Admiral Rowley perceived, that if he went to the leader, we should be exposed to the broadsides of the whole French weather division, and remain unsupported. On this we wore again, but still continued hotly engaged, until we had passed the rear of the enemy's line. In this short encounter we opened a vigorous

cannonade, and received a corresponding return, having nine fine fellows killed, and twenty-seven wounded. While we were dropping into our station, Admiral Barrington bravely ran in between the poor old Lion and a huge French ship, which was going to demolish her, as she lay like a log on the water; and he gave her so terrible a dressing, that she soon sheered off in dismay. At noon the adversary was in tolerable order to leeward, and consisted of twenty-six sail of the line, and seven frigates, most of the former being fine large seventy-fours, whose appearance made our vessels look rather small. The Monmouth now attempted to arrest the enemy's leaders, so as to bring on a general action, but both that dashing ship and the Prince of Wales were terribly mauled in the endeavour. Several of our vessels, which might have distinguished themselves and helped the others, looked as fresh as if just out of a dock-yard; to say nothing of the Yarmouth."

This encounter was more remarkable for gallantry than success; and it has been observed, that it had been discovered early in the day that they were too late to relieve Granada. Byron, no doubt, would never have adopted the dangerous experiment of attacking the van of a superior fleet, with a force so inadequate to ensure a general action, but for the security of his transports: to

effect this object, and yet engage so powerful a foe, required all the skill and intrepidity which were displayed. Our ships were so cut up and damaged in spars and rigging, that, unable to restore the injury quickly, they made the best of their way to Basseterre roads; and D'Estaing, learning their weakness, paraded before them with similar bravado to that with which he had been treated at Martinique.

During the interval that was occupied in refitting and procuring naval stores, young Beaver was diligently improving himself in navigation and nautical astronomy, as there fortunately was a master's mate on board, who had a considerable proficiency in both of these sciences. The Suffolk was not considered unhealthy, yet she lost several of her best men; and our youth was dangerously attacked by fever, brought on by too much exposure during his rambles on shore. He had scarcely recovered from this illness, when he had a narrow escape from drowning, by the upsetting of a jolly-boat in a heavy surf; but nothing seems to have affected his spirits, which, according to the testimony of an old messmate, were, at this period of his life, uncommonly buoyant. Yet with his animation there was mingled an occasional sedateness, and caustic spirit of observation, quite remarkable at such an immature age—inasmuch

that Admiral Rowley was heard to declare,—“If that boy gets safely through the snares that snap us up between fifteen and five-and-twenty, he will turn out to be an admirable officer.”

News of a Spanish war, which was always a spring of gladness to sailors, now arrived; and a cruize to windward of Barbadoes was undertaken by Admiral Hyde Parker. This part of our midshipman's journal is written in a querulous tone, for it seems the Admiral did not allow chasing so often as was requested; and they finally returned to port with eight or ten prizes only, which would not have been deemed indifferent, but that they had all been dreaming of galleons.

On the morning of the 18th of December, a signal was thrown out on Gros Islet, for seeing twenty French merchant ships under convoy of four men of war. The fleet, although they were refitting, and consequently unprepared, instantly cut or slipped, and dashed out so promptly, that by noon they were amongst them, between the Diamond rock and the shore, where some ran on the beach, and the rest made the best of their way for Port Royal bay. “At this moment,” says Beaver, “the batteries blazed away upon us, on which we rattled our lower deckers in return, and then hoisted out the boats to take possession of a fine armed ship near us, and destroy those that were aground.

The Conqueror, in gallantly pursuing the enemy, ran near the entrance of the harbour, and was warmly attacked by the batteries and three line-of-battle ships, which had slipped to rescue their convoy: we were much grieved to see her so unequally engaged, without the power of rendering her any assistance. At six the firing ceased on all sides, and our boats returned from securing some of the ships and burning others, with only one man wounded: we sent on board the Conqueror, and learnt, that amongst the killed was her Commander, Captain Griffiths, a man universally beloved."

Rear-admiral Rowley was now despatched to intercept a part of La Motte Piquet's squadron. On the morning of the 22d of December, three strangers were descried in the N.W., but it was not till the evening that they were overtaken. Our youth's journal says:—"At half-past five we fired at a large frigate near us, and soon afterwards she hoisted her colours, and returned the shot. We left her to be settled by the Magnificent, and stood towards the next, under every sail that would draw; but did not get near enough to fire till midnight, when, having come up abreast, we gave her a few random shot, which she impudently answered with a broadside, and then struck. She proved to be the *Fortunée* of 40 heavy guns,

and 250 men: she informed us that the Magnificent's prize was the *Blanche*, a frigate of the same force. The vessel still a-head was the *Alice* of 28 guns; and the following morning she was also captured."

On his arrival in port after this success, Admiral Rowley shifted his flag to the *Conqueror*, taking our young hero with him. It was not without sensations of regret that *Beaver* quitted the *Suffolk*, for there were many associations to endear her to him. In this ship he had enjoyed the society of some worthy messmates, and had made considerable advance in professional knowledge, from the kindness of the officers. Once, and once only, was he under the ban of the first Lieutenant, and that was merely for joining in a boyish frolic, to hustle the master-at-arms in the cock-pit; for which, with his juvenile companions, he was sentenced to additional watching.

Nothing material occurred until the 24th of March, 1780, when Count de Guichen insultingly menaced Gros Islet bay; but the excellent disposition of our line, though inferior by ten ships, daunted him. "At day-break on the following morning," says our youth, "an English convoy was signalized coming before the wind; but the strength of the lee current had prevented the enemy's gaining much to windward during the

night, except two sail of the line. The Admiral now called a council of war, to determine on what measures to take, and every officer and man in the fleet was very anxious till the decision was known. Instantly all was life and bustle, and by ten we had all slipped to preserve the convoy, excepting the unlucky old Yarmouth, which had been damaged by the Vigilant running foul of her. Immediately on the appearance of our van, the French weather-most ships, which were just on the point of snapping up our countrymen, tacked away to join the body of their fleet; whereupon the merchantmen stretched to the southward, while we, with flags of defiance, remained in a regular line of battle off the bold cliffs of the Islet, and in mid distance between our convoy and the mortified Crapaud. Having seen them all safely moored, we took up the cables again that we had slipped."

De Guichen stood close in, ostentatiously parading before the anchorage until the 28th of March, and had but just got into Port Royal bay, when Sir George Rodney, who had been apprized, by the Alert, of Parker's situation, arrived with five sail of the line, to assume the command. This junction rendered the British fleet nearly equal to the French fleet—but the skill and spirit of the valiant Admiral gave a decided superiority. The Count de Guichen had appeared off St. Lucia, but was

deterred from making an attack, by the judicious disposition of the naval and military force ; and in return, Rodney braved him, during two successive days, off Fort Royal, Martinique, though unable to draw him from his place of refuge.

Sir George Rodney having returned to St. Lucia, de Guichen ventured out of port with twenty-three sail of the line. The British Admiral instantly pursued with twenty ships, and in two days brought him to action, and compelled him to seek shelter in Guadaloupe.

The events of the 17th of April must be related from Mr. Beaver's journal.—“ Early this morning, the Commander-in-chief signalized his intention to bear down abreast, and attack the enemy's rear ; but the French, perceiving our design, put about in very beautiful style to evade it, and stood to the northward. At forty minutes past ten we wore in succession, to come upon the starboard tack, and seeing that we could command a fight put us on the high ropes, and made every thing fly again. Soon after one, the van of our fleet commenced action with that of the enemy, and at the same time we bore down to engage the third ship of their line, with the *Intrepid* in our wake ; we then hove the main-topsail to the mast, within a cable's length of our opponent, and peppered away at her furiously, while their shot were whist-

ling and whizzing in every direction. Monsieur did not relish this, and at three the rear gave way, but we speedily stood after them, slapping off our starboard guns to spring their luff. As we edged down to close, they gave way a second time under a press of canvas, and left us to stopper and splice in the best manner the time would admit of. Our masts, yards, and rigging were much torn; our hull had been riddled by some heavy shot, besides the hits between wind and water; we had thirteen men killed, and thirty-seven wounded. As to myself, I have still my proper complement of legs and arms, but I have twice to-day narrowly escaped a dive into Davy's locker. The brave Admiral had been all along vigorously dealing death on the French flag-ship, and her seconds, whom he must have taken, if all had done their duty, for some of our ships took it easy enough—there was the Yarmouth cutting the same figure which marked her off Granada.”

The damages being rapidly repaired, several ineffectual attempts were made to renew the action, but the flying enemy dexterously evaded it, and, after three days' successive chase, he was driven into Guadaloupe. The various evolutions were so admirably conducted on both sides, as to afford an enviable field for young officers to gain a knowledge of naval tactics; but the result was ex-

tremely unsatisfactory to the gallant Rodney. The commander of the *Yarmouth*, which ship so much attracted the notice of our youngster, was brought to a court-martial; and another captain, inquiring of the Admiral why he had been mentioned in terms of reprehension, received a most impressive answer: "Could I have imagined," said the chief, "that your conduct and your inattention to signals had proceeded from anything but error in judgment, I had certainly superseded you; but God forbid I should do so for error in judgment only. I merely resolved, Sir, not to put it in your power to mistake again, upon so important an occasion as the leading a British fleet to regular battle."

Incessantly alive to duty, Rodney remained at *St. Lucia*, only to land the sick and wounded, and complete the water; and on the fourth morning after quitting the anchorage, he once more gained sight of *De Guichen*. The French for several days held the weather-gage, and having clean-bottomed ships, frequently ran down in line of battle, as if they were going to fight; but when within random shot, tauntingly braced to the wind. This conduct both irritated our officers and harassed the men, as it required them to be constantly at their quarters. At length, on the 15th of May, by a masterly manœuvre on our side, the enemy were nearly brought to a general action against their will. But

while the belligerents were rapidly closing each other, the wind chopped at once from S.E. to E., by which critical accident the van and centre of the French line were enabled to escape. Admiral Rowley was now leading the British fleet, and Mr. Beaver remarks, "At this change of wind, the enemy being on our weather bow, we ran between the Albion and Magnificent, and told the former to lead through their line, under the stern of the eighth ship from the rear. Two stout men of war now opened their fire upon us, which made us bear up, to return their salute more effectually, as they approached; and at this moment, an arm-chest which was struck, splintered so as to wound several persons grievously. What business had it there? The Albion and three others of our division behaved nobly, especially the former, for she sustained the battering of four heavy antagonists before we could assist her. Our compliments were this day mostly doubly shotted, which made the red-sided ship we engaged flinch after the third broadside; but her companion saved her."

This event made the enemy less flippant in his demonstrations. On the 19th, however, Rodney, by a skilful stratagem, again placed him under the necessity of a partial engagement, to prevent the sacrifice of his rear. Thus urged, the French ran

along the British line under a heavy cannonade, and being closely attacked, suffered very severely. "At noon," says Beaver, "the enemy's fleet began to tack and stand towards us, when we engaged them at close quarters as they came up; and warm work it was on all sides, the heat and smoke being almost suffocating. The Albion and ourselves had to stand a heavy brunt, round and grape flew like hail, and amongst others, our brave captain was mortally wounded. Having soon after passed the enemy's rear, we ceased firing, and found we were so cut up, that we could scarcely get the ship round; whereupon we began to knot and splice the rigging, and woad the masts. In the evening, the Medway hailed us with Sir G. Rodney's compliments, to crowd more sail, but Admiral Rowley replied, that we had been so roughly handled, it was impossible." In consequence of her damages, the Conqueror was obliged to bear away from the fleet and run into port, where the necessary refitment detained her from active service.

Beaver therefore followed the flag into the Terrible, and the Princess Royal; but in September, as Admiral Rowley was to convoy the homeward bound trade in the Grafton, it was considered most eligible to leave him on so active a station. He was consequently recommended to the notice of Sir Peter

Parker, who held the Jamaica command. Owing to this arrangement, he was comparatively safe in Port Royal harbour during a furious hurricane which ravaged the West Indies in the beginning of October, and involved both land and sea in melancholy calamity. Our fleet met with ruinous disaster, for besides nine line-of-battle ships and four frigates dismasted, two sail of the line, five frigates, and six sloops of war were totally lost, with an awful sacrifice of human lives. At Jamaica it commenced in excessively hard squalls, with thunder, lightning, and torrents of heavy rain; its greatest violence being on the west side, where it was accompanied by a smart earthquake. At Savanna la Mer, a desolating wave overwhelmed the district, and in its resurge, not only carried the town and every living thing with it, but with horrible celerity turned its smiling fields into dreary wastes; and the devastation of that neighbourhood alone was estimated at nearly a million sterling.

It now became necessary to repair the *Princess Royal*; and the heaving down of so large a ship required all the exertions of the officers and crew. In the mean time, the Admiral hoisted his flag in any of the various vessels which happened to come in. Beaver, with a humour which we may suppose had then some point, remarks, on the 31st of October,—“This day *Lady Parker* shifted her flag from the *Lowestoffe* to the *Ruby*.”

A relaxation of several months succeeded the late toilsome operations; and though the necessary duties of a ship afforded but insufficient time for study, yet the journals of our youth manifest progressive improvement and observation. This is the more meritorious, when it is considered how little stimulus existed in the examples around him. A man of war affords no academic retirement, nor do other honours or rewards than internal satisfaction await the naval tyro;—he, therefore, whose mind is cultivated, must be actuated purely by a love of knowledge. Liable to every call of duty or dullness, and remote from the light of day,—

“In canvass’d birth, profoundly deep in thought,
His busy mind with sines and tangents fraught,
The Mid reclines!—in calculation lost!
His efforts still by some intruder cross’d.”

Early in the spring of 1781, the Princess Royal sailed, in order to conduct a large fleet of merchant ships safe through the windward passage. When off Cape Nicola, the Suffolk, Philip’s favourite ship, brought in a fine American brig, the Good Intent, the charge of which was given to him, as an efficient officer. Proud of this first command, he parted from the fleet on the 2d of April in high spirits, but the same evening found that, by the drunkenness of one of the men, the vessel was on

fire in the fore-peak ; and all hands were half the night in extinguishing it. Scarcely had the chagrin of this accident subsided, before he had the mortification to perceive that he was chased by one of those privateers which hang on the heels of a convoy, to catch up stragglers. Having but one midshipman and seven hands with him, and moreover burthened with several French prisoners, he tried every possible means of escape, but all proving fruitless, he was obliged to haul down his colours to the *Molle*, of twelve guns, and allow himself to be carried into Port au Prince. As that relentless system of not exchanging prisoners, which became the harshest feature of the late war, had not then commenced, he was liberated on the 21st of June, for a subaltern of the Port au Prince regiment, under mutual permission to return to their respective services.

We next find Mr. Beaver serving in the *Southampton* of thirty-two guns, on a cruize with the *Pomona* off Cape Tiberoon. On the 3d of July, they fell in with a French convoy, escorted by a line-of-battle ship. The latter made an ineffectual attempt, by towing, to close with our frigates ; but could not prevent them from burning a ship of force and a dogger, besides capturing a valuable brig, at a little more than a mile inshore of him.

In the night of the 23d, the two frigates unex-

pectedly found themselves near strangers, some of whom, by the lights appearing through their ports, were evidently two-deckers. On observing this, they hauled their wind till day-break, when they discovered fifteen sail, of which three were of the line, and there were others in sight from the mast-head. Without balancing consequences, it was instantly resolved to endeavour to cut off a brig which had dropped astern: but a fast-sailing coppered line-of-battle ship stood after them under a heavy press of canvass; and by her appearance they soon recognised the ship which they had insulted twenty days before, off Cape Tiberon. The pursuit lasted upwards of six hours, and had not the enemy yawed, to try the distance of his guns, he must have been successful: on firing, he hoisted French colours, with a broad pendant; but perceiving that he had dropped astern by his imprudence, he relinquished the chase..

The Southampton lost sight of her enemy soon after mid-day, and at four her boats were assisting some shipwrecked sailors, at the great Inague island; so that her services were scarcely interrupted by her retreat. But our youth remarks that the ship's company were discontented; they thought that, when the pursuer had separated from his companions, the two frigates should have attacked him,—“and,” adds he, “I would have answered for the result.”

Four days afterwards, having parted with the Pomona, they perceived a large ship under jury top-masts, making towards Nicolo Mole. Notwithstanding her superiority, Captain Affleck determined on an attack ; and, although the weather was very squally, ran close under the fort, where they forced her to action. Mr. Beaver says, “ We began at about a cable-length’s distance, striving to get nearer ; but this the enemy endeavoured to prevent by yawing. We soon after got upon his starboard quarter, within half pistol-shot distance, and, by constantly trimming sails, continued there, pouring in round and grape as hotly as possible for upwards of an hour, every thing working properly, and the men in high spirits ; but I am ignorant why we did not drop alongside her. In the heat of the engagement, our fore-yard fell by the run, the slings being shot away. By this unlucky accident, we became exposed to a raking fire, with scarcely any guns to bear : we therefore filled our main-topsail and shot a-head to get out of the scrape, when our fool of a foe, instead of trying to lay us on board, clapped up his helm, sent a few straggling shot at us, and bolted into port. Our ship was so much riddled, that we had no command over her ; and, on mustering the crew, we found that Mr. Barton, the master, with five men, were killed, and twenty-three severely wounded.”

Having fished the spars, and repaired damages as well as circumstances would permit, they stood for Jamaica; but on the 1st of August encountered a furious hurricane. "At noon," says the Journal, "hard gales, with a prodigious sea: employed making every thing snug, but the wounded men were very much tormented by the quick lurches and deep pitching, and also from the crowded state of the 'tween decks. At five, taken a-back in a heavy squall from the eastward, and soon after carried away the mizen-mast. Clewed up, and handed the fore-topsail, but the main one split and blew from the yard; and, ere long, the foresail, the only canvas we were carrying, was rent into ribbands. Lay-to a hull, but finding the ship labour very much in the trough of the sea, we got the main sheet aft to steady her; this measure was unfortunately followed by the loss of the main-mast, which snapped off flush with the quarter-deck, and, before we recovered, a tremendous gust of wind carried away the foremast and bowsprit. An attempt to describe the roaring of the wind and sea at this moment would fail of giving 'Ye gentlemen of England' any idea of its deafening violence; but, in spite of all, the wreck was cleared, and the encumbered best bower anchor cut away. While one party of hands was pumping, another payed the stream cable overboard to ease the ship,

by preventing her falling round off; and a third got a fore-staysail on the stump of the mizen-mast, which, however, was quickly torn to shreds. In this precious mess, about one in the morning, we discerned land on the lee bow—to our surprise, we found that we were in fifteen fathoms, and, what was still worse, driving right on shore. With some difficulty, we let go the small bower, and veered to half a cable, which brought us up; but, from the heavy gales, and confused sea, we were in momentary expectation of parting, or bringing home the anchor. At daylight the weather had moderated a good deal, and we found we were close to the beach, near Salt Pond Bluff. Made signals of distress to the ships in Port Royal, and commenced rigging jury masts. Threw overboard the boats which had been rendered useless in the late action, and committed to the deep two men who died during this horrible night.”

Thus terminated, in less than five weeks, our hero's first cruize in the Southampton; and the damages she had received in that short space of time, from winds, waves, and enemies, occasioned her remaining in harbour for nearly seven months. In this dull period, nothing occurred out of the usual dock-yard routine, except our youth being one of a large party sent from the squadron to Kingston, on that town taking fire. The timely

assistance thus afforded saved that beautiful place from utter destruction ; for the mixture of the negro huts and warehouses, amongst stately buildings, was like a train for spreading the combustion. Nothing could exceed the agility with which the sailors tore down those houses which were in flames, and removed the people and property from the scene of danger. Young Beaver, with his messmates, besides their general exertions, were instrumental in saving an aged negro, who must otherwise have miserably perished. The inhabitants of all colours witnessed their exploits with the highest admiration ; and a large present of refreshments accompanied the hearty tars back to their boats.

Having been completely refitted, the Southampton sailed on the 18th of February, 1782, and after taking two prizes, fell in with a French fleet of eighteen sail. Escaping from them by dint of sailing, she ran over to Port Royal, to communicate the intelligence ; after which they continued their cruize. But, on the 3d of April, the frigate, again disabled by a hurricane which almost threw her on her beam ends, was obliged to bear up without topmasts, the fore and main masts badly sprung, and making upwards of four feet water an hour.

While lying at their old berth alongside the

Conception hulk, Mr. Beaver had the high gratification of seeing the victorious fleet of Rodney enter the port, with the prizes taken on the 12th of April, in the battle with Count de Grasse; and, while he regretted that he had not been in the engagement, he was warm in his congratulations to the many friends and messmates who participated in that glorious day. Shortly afterwards, having now become a well-known officer, he was removed from the frigate into the London of ninety guns. In this ship, while cruizing off Cape Tiberoon, during a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, they had a narrow escape, for at two in the morning of the 28th of June, the electric fluid struck the foremast, and shivered it from the truck to the gunner's store-room, with a terrible explosion close to the fore magazine.

Desirous of more active duties than were afforded in a three-decker, Mr. Beaver obtained his removal into the Tobago, a sloop of war, commanded by Captain G. Martin. On the 23d of October, he was selected to navigate the Minerva, a prize, into port. While lying there, he was attacked by so dangerous a fever, that the case being considered hopeless, his death was actually inserted in a Jamaica Gazette, and this article having been copied into a London paper, was seen by his eldest sister, who had the fortitude to conceal her anxiety till con-

firmation of the sad event should arrive. Letters, however, from himself, announcing his perfect recovery, soon afterwards relieved her affectionate solicitude.

On the 2d of June, 1783, Mr. Beaver was presented by his friend Admiral Rowley with an acting order to the *Nemesis*, though he did not pass his examination till the 15th of the following October. The day after that ordeal, his patron complimented him with an appointment to act as first lieutenant of the same ship, which duty he performed till she was paid off.

The return of peace almost closed the door of promotion, and this aspiring young man might have been overlooked, had not his merits already made him an object of attention, not only with those under whom he had served, but also with those who had sailed in the same fleets. Thus, at a period when he was rather anxious about the success of his applications, while walking with his sister in Kensington Gardens, they accidentally met the Hon. Captain De Courcy, who, after professing great satisfaction in seeing him, said, "Lord Howe has been asking me a great many questions about you;—you will certainly be made."

This agreeable prediction was soon realized; for, on the 25th of May, 1784, our hero obtained the desired commission,—a commission which was

acknowledged to be well merited. But, as many officers, with ostensibly better interest, failed at that time in obtaining their rank, Lieutenant Beaver became an object of envy, because, forsooth, bearing a high character from every officer with whom he had served, he was justly rewarded. This is what many of the most insignificant in the service call "luck"—as if a youth of strong natural parts, with obedient, diligent habits, was not likely to make his way, in a service which, however clogged by drones of interest, must always have a demand for efficient officers. It is really marvellous to observe how many embark, who merely exist in apathy and uselessness, though surrounded by every inducement to exertion; and, instead of pursuing the zealous, straightforward course of duty, which insures both honour and happiness, use all the subtleties and refinements which they can resort to, for evasion. Yet it may happen to eighty officers out of an hundred not to witness more service during a whole professional life, than Mr. Beaver had already encountered in his noviciate:—

“How easy 'tis, when destiny proves kind,
With full spread sails to run before the wind!
But those that 'gainst stiff gales careering go,
Must be at once resolved, and skilful too.”

Our Lieutenant returned to Europe, with the

skill of a good seaman, and soon after mounted the first step of the ladder of promotion—but that was all : endowed, however, with peculiar energy of mind, and simplicity of character, he felt truly indifferent to riches. After the first happiness of seeing her son come home with good health, and a creditable reputation, from the double dangers of war and climate, Mrs. Beaver began to consider that a London lodging afforded a dangerous scene of life to an inexperienced youth of eighteen. He also soon sighed for a change ; the absence of a decided pursuit began to be felt by himself, and he was wont to exclaim, that “ he was never so happy as when sure of meeting an enemy every day.” In this anxiety, unaware of higher studies, he fell into an error arising from the general foible of imitation, and, instead of being satisfied with gaining a colloquial knowledge, thought he would endeavour to acquire an idiomatic proficiency in the French language. Mrs. Beaver, now obliged to assist her son more than when in the West Indies, where his prize-money had almost supported him, considered a cheap country as very desirable, and they determined on going to Boulogne,—the Lieutenant being probably influenced by some of his naval associates, who had also made that selection.

Of this period of his life—that which he would, perhaps, have looked back upon with the least

satisfaction—but little appears. In the ardour of youth, without occupation, or any restraint except the gentle check of an indulgent mother, it is not surprising if he fell into that dissipation which he saw around him. But a sound mind saved him from the enervating insignificance into which so many young men, in similar circumstances, are irretrievably betrayed.

In the year 1787, our hero made a visit to the Rev. James Beaver, at Stoke, near Coventry; and having, as he contended, no actual duties to perform, he rose late, lounged away the mornings in indolence, and appeared to be losing that energy for which he had hitherto been remarkable. His observant brother soon perceived the danger, and took care, after suitable comments, to throw such books in his way as were likely to arrest his attention, and awaken a sense of his deficiencies. The ingenuous mind of Philip was alive to the fraternal admonition, and with the sensibility which marks superior understanding, declared that for the first time he felt the shame of conscious ignorance. His application now became vigorous and constant, and the fact is worthy of record, as illustrative of the axiom, that “he who has lost one part of life in idleness, need not throw away the remainder in despair.”

As the Lieutenant was strongly impressed with

the duties of active life, he read to strengthen his judgment, rather than amuse his fancy; studying more to acquire useful knowledge, than to cultivate taste. History, ethics, natural philosophy, and jurisprudence engaged his attention, and the copious extracts in his note-books display the assiduity, depth, and variety of his reading; but, with the exception of Milton and Shakspeare, he did not profess much regard for poets or writers of fiction. This example may be useful to those self-sufficient and precocious youths, who imagine they have attained the summit of perfection; for Beaver, amongst the many who sip rather than drink of the stream, might have been esteemed clever and well-informed before this period. Of his early classical rudiments probably little remained; but good common sense, and the sound principles which had been instilled, recalled him from puerile trifling to studious habits, and his acquirements thenceforward were commensurate with his industry.

The necessity of application cannot be too often repeated to aspirants in the British navy;—it is a proud profession, and there is sufficient leisure for attaining considerable knowledge. Instead of remaining satisfied with the indifference they may too often witness around them, they should remember that, had not the greatest heroes excelled their contemporaries in mental acquirements, they would

never have gained supremacy; and that Alexander, in the plenitude of success, thought himself more indebted to Aristotle for a good education, than to Philip for a powerful kingdom. That the multitude prefer idleness to industry, is rather to be lamented than wondered at, and the fact has given an edge to satire from the earliest times:—Persius stigmatizes the ignorance of officers with this keen stroke,—

But here some captain of the land or fleet,
Stout of his hands, but of a soldier's wit,
Cries, I have sense, to serve my turn, in store;
And he's a rascal who pretends to more."

But busier scenes were now approaching: a fleet was suddenly ordered to be equipped, and about the middle of December, 1789, Mr. Beaver was appointed First Lieutenant of the *Fortunée*, a smart sloop of sixteen guns, commanded by Captain Westcott, who was afterwards killed in the glorious battle of the Nile. The seizure of British vessels by the Spaniards at Nootka Sound was the avowed cause of this threatening attitude, which proving effectual, the officers and men were mostly paid off again by the month of November, 1790. The Russian armament, as it was called, in the following year, induced him to solicit employment; and by the express desire of Lord Hood, he was immediately appointed to the *Saturn*, seventy-four.

There, from April till September, he carried on the duties of the ship with a precision which gained the friendship of Captain Linzee, and confirmed the character which he had already acquired, of a zealous and active officer.

Our Lieutenant seemed now to be on the high road to preferment, for the attention of the nation being roused to the ambition of the crafty Catherine, appearances predicted strong exertions on our part. A statesman, high in office, expressed an intention of forwarding his views, but candidly stated to Mrs. Beaver, that "though fully satisfied of her son's professional merits, he could do nothing unless a war was actually declared; but, in that event, his promotion was assured." The smiling promises of the year, however, bore no fruit; the nation's energies were embarrassed by the cabals of a faction, and the hopes of a deserving officer were blighted by England being prevented from asserting her proper dignity.

The conclusion of the sanguinary war between the Russians and the Turks, with the chance of a durable peace, threw Lieutenant Beaver, who was strongly tinged with a spirit of adventure, into a channel of exertion which gave full development to all his energies. But although this new scene required no ordinary intrepidity, patience, and presence of mind, it proved unfavourable to

advancement in his profession, as it occasioned his absence at the commencement of hostilities with France, and left him far behind in the race of promotion. The events of this important period of his life,—a period fraught with sufferings almost insurmountable, are very unaffectedly described in his “*African Memoranda* ;” an interesting book, written in a plain and unpolished, but manly style, every page of which bears internal evidence of the strictest veracity. The difficulties which opposed his success, shewed the courage that could meet, and the zeal which strove to conquer them ; and while we lament those obstacles, we are in some measure consoled by the reflection, that they have, at least, placed his fortitude and intrepidity in a light which a more prosperous adventure might not have revealed.

As the scene which here opens to us is of the highest interest, and shews the variety and capabilities of a vigorous mind, I shall endeavour to render a faithful picture of the occurrences. For this purpose I have not only followed the printed accounts, but have also carefully examined the Lieutenant’s manuscripts, and various collateral records, whence I have made such extracts as will considerably illustrate the “*Memoranda*.”

“ I had a great wish,” says Mr. Beaver, “ to be acquainted with both our Northern and Southern

whale fisheries, and therefore intended to go out as passenger in some ship employed in those trades, in order to make myself master of the subject. The season was gone by for the former ; I was therefore confined to the latter ; and went, in consequence, to a house at Paul's Wharf, which owned a great number of ships in the Southern whale fishery. Enquiring for the gentleman of the house, to whom I was totally unknown, ' Sir,' said I, ' I understand that you have several vessels employed in the Southern fishery ?' ' Yes, Sir,' he replied. ' A young friend of mine,' I continued, ' wishes very much to see your mode of killing the fish, cutting them up, and melting them down, as well as the manner of killing seals and sea lions, on the Falkland islands ; where, if your vessel should be absent about two seasons, he will have no objection to remain one winter ; and I am come from him to propose his going out as a passenger in one of them : he will pay you anything you choose to demand for his possessing half the cabin ; and taking with him his books, he will have nothing to do with the ship, where he will never be in the way, but, being a bit of a seaman himself, he may sometimes be of use.'—' Sir,' he replied, ' we never take any such persons ; I cannot, therefore, comply with your request ; he must be a very odd young man, Sir.'—' Yes, Sir,' said I, ' he is an odd fish.' ”

This intention being frustrated, he mentions the various voyages of discovery which he had planned, and the obstacles to each ; but, whilst he was yet undetermined on which to resolve, he became acquainted with Mr. H. Dalrymple. This gentleman, who had recently been disappointed of the office of Governor of Sierra Leone, gave so captivating a description of Bulama, an island near to that settlement, that our hero, in his ardour, exclaimed,—“ Let us colonize it ourselves ! ”—Mr. Dalrymple answered, “ With all my heart ; ” and thus arose the subsequent association. “ I determine,” says Beaver in a note-book, “ to give up my whole time and attention for one year to the success of the undertaking ; and, however I may be laughed at, or discredited in this money-making world, no prospect of amassing lucre has any influence in my giving up the comforts I enjoy in my own country, to join myself with an unknown party, to cut down forests and plant sugar-canes in Africa. Wealth, to be sure, has its advantages, and if it should accrue, may render me more independent in moral action ; but I can never hoard : why did Bacon forget his own adage,—‘ that money, like manure, is of no use, unless it be spread ’ ? ”

The views of the Society, in this undertaking, were directed to cultivation ; it being imagined that the produce of the West Indies might be

readily raised at Bulama, by free natives, and thus forming a contrast to the vicious habits of the slave-dealing Europeans, contribute towards the civilization of those regions. Though commerce was considered only in a subordinate point of view, when compared with their grand object, it was conceived that a new and extensive channel would be opened to trade, which would at the same time be the means of introducing letters, liberty, and, above all, a knowledge of the Christian religion amongst the sable sons of that vast continent. By this scheme, happiness was promised to thousands,—misery to none: the only fear was, that as the paucity of their wants, and the natural fertility of their soil, render Negroes averse to labour, they could not be relied upon; and it was apprehended that white colonists would be very unequal to the toil of field-work in that enervating climate. “I have nothing to do,” says Beaver, “with the question, whether a state of uncultivated nature, or of civilization, be most conducive to happiness. The man who prefers being a brute, to a rational creature, may put down the book.”

Having been acquainted by Mr. Pitt, that Government had no objection to the enterprize, the number of subscribers increased rapidly; though the infant Colony was not viewed with friendly eyes, either by the speculators of Sierra Leone, or

the West India merchants. As might have been expected, the whole of the adventurers were not actuated by the same praiseworthy motives which influenced our Cincinnatus, and many great errors took place in the outset. "A plausible rascal," says the note-book, "of the name of Bant, who called himself a Quaker, but was really of no religion, and had been successively of all, possessed an exquisite facility of imposing upon almost everybody. This fellow, having gained the ear of Mr. Dalrymple, was recommended as a man so valuable and useful, that, being too poor to subscribe, five hundred acres of land were offered to induce him to embark with us. This was not only agreed to, but he was shortly after elected into a Committee, and would probably have crept into the Council, had I not proposed that no member sitting there should hold any place of profit,—the latter of which, from his endeavours to procure the storekeeper's office, I knew he would prefer to the former. Now this vaunted addition to our party was so well known to many mercantile houses in the City, that his very name operated like a pestilence on some of our proceedings; for it was naturally enough supposed, that no honest people could possibly be connected with so notorious a character." Besides this man, many profligate and worthless wretches enrolled themselves as

subscribers ; and one, who died at Bulama, was found to have committed arson, robbery, forgery, incest, and murder !

It was not attempted to obtain a Charter, as its progress through Parliament would have required much time, and the season for making a passage out, previous to the rains setting in, was fast expiring. In the mean time, unaware of the illegality of the proceeding, the subscribers had drawn up and signed a form of government, by which they swore to abide, until a formal one should be provided by the legislature of the country. In consequence of this, an embargo was unexpectedly laid on their ships at Gravesend ; a measure which subjected them to a serious demurrage, and occasioned considerable alarm. On explanation with the Secretary of State, the luckless constitution was cancelled ; but by thus losing a legal restraint over an incongruous rabble of various professions and trades, from the polished gentleman to the finished villain, the success of the undertaking was rendered very problematical. The hiring of two large ships, and the purchase of a cutter, with provisions, stores, arms, implements, and other heavy expenses, however, had been incurred, and matters had gone too far to recede ;—the vessels, therefore, proceeded to Portsmouth. On the passage thither, as if an inauspicious destiny

governed the adventure, they had the mortification to find that the small-pox had been introduced on board by a woman, who, to avoid the anguish of separation from her husband, had concealed the circumstance of her child being infected with that contagious distemper.

While waiting at the Motherbank for permission to sail, one person had deserted, four had been discharged on request, and four others were turned on shore for turbulent conduct. On the 14th of April, 1792, they finally left England with two hundred and seventy-five colonists, of whom few were so fortunate as to return ; for, even of those who afterwards abandoned the island, a large majority died on their way home, or had contracted incurable diseases.

The established Council consisted of thirteen gentlemen. Mr. Dalrymple being elected Governor, and Mr. Young the Lieutenant-governor, eighty-three men, thirty-three women, and thirty-three children, were embarked on board the *Calypso*, of two hundred and ninety-eight tons, commanded by Lieutenant Hancorne ;—sixty-five men, twenty-four women, and thirty-one children, were on board the *Hankey*, of two hundred and sixty-one tons, under the authority of Lieutenant Beaver ; and five men and a boy were in the *Beggar's Benison*, a Gravesend boat of thirty-

four tons, in charge of Lieutenant Dobbin. Thus, with a fair breeze, they stood out of the Channel, a heterogeneous assemblage; several of them animated with the highest emotions of hope; others, willing to barter life for profit, plunging into what they considered a desperate undertaking; and many, too prone to idleness to have any defined object in view,—

“ Hard sons of penury, abroad they roam,
To seek that competence they want at home.”

After getting to sea, the wind freshened, and the motion becoming very disagreeable to those unaccustomed to it, most of the landsmen, and all the women, were sea-sick. As some of the latter had infants at the breast, and were without nourishment from inability to move, Mr. Beaver humanely undertook to cook for them. “ I had already been employed,” says he, “ since our sailing, in functions equally low, and therefore was in some degree prepared for it; but at times I was compensated for the meanness of these employments, by the exercise of authority pertaining to more dignified posts, for I verily believe that there is not an office or gradation of rank in the naval service, from the admiral and commander-in-chief down to the Jack of the bread-room, which I had not already exercised in this ship. The fact is, that to govern and main-

tain order and regularity amongst a licentious rabble, without any legal power, was an exceedingly difficult task, and only to be accomplished by example. I soon perceived that I must either give up the point, which threatened ruin to the undertaking, or accomplish it by the constant exercise of unremitting exertions: the latter was most congenial to my mind, and therefore there was no employment, however humble in the general opinion of the world, which I hesitated to undertake; but having once done this, I ordered whom I pleased afterwards to perform the same duty."

Owing to an unaccountable inattention on board the *Calypso*, the vessels parted company soon after clearing the Channel, on which the *Hankey*, being the worst sailer, stood for Santa Cruz, with all the speed of which she was capable. On the 3d of May they found that an easterly current had set them four degrees to the eastward, by which they made Fuertaventura instead of Teneriffe.

The wind continuing westerly, they determined to anchor at the Grand Canaria, and there endeavour to procure fresh provisions; for though aware of the treatment to be apprehended from the jealousy of the Spaniards, the necessity of making an effort to keep clear of the scurvy induced Mr. Beaver to undertake the trial. With some difficulty he got through the surf in a small jolly boat, and

on gaining the shore, was soon surrounded by a crowd: yet he was unable to prevail on any one to carry his request to the Governor; and he was moreover warned by a priest against entering the town without leave. Urgency at last obliged him to neglect this advice; but he had no sooner entered the gate of Palmas, than he was roughly seized by a corporal's guard, and with his two men confined in a tower on the beach. The disturbance occasioned by this arrest brought out the Governor, who, after some preliminaries, allowed pilots to go off to bring the ship to an anchor; and promised a supply of fresh provisions for the next day. On the following morning, the wind having become favourable, there was no longer any necessity for remaining at Canaria; Mr. Beaver, therefore, carried back the pilots, but was obliged to exert the most pertinacious firmness, during a warm altercation, before he could obtain the desired refreshments. This was partly owing to the imperfect notions which they had of quarantine laws, and partly to the little communication they have with European ships.

The wind keeping fair, the Hankey anchored at Teneriffe on the 7th, where they learned that the Calypso had been there four days before them, but being refused pratique, on account of the small-pox, till the Governor's pleasure should be known,

had sailed abruptly, without leaving any intimation of a second rendezvous. On the 8th, the Beggar's Benison arrived, and three days afterwards a Liverpool brig, the master of which, thinking that Bulama must be the Bullam shore, near Sierra Leone, engaged to be their pilot; nor was the error discovered till they arrived at Port Praya in St. Jago, where the brig, having run upon a rock, was disabled from proceeding.

“This place,” says the Lieutenant, “is readily known by a wretched fort, on a small cliff, with some date-trees in a valley to the west of it. I say it may be thus known, but I should only know it to avoid it, unless I was distressed for water. The natives are black and deceitful; the climate is hot and unwholesome; and the whole island is parched and barren—beggarly and miserable. Yet to those who delight in plantains, melons, oranges, and guavas—and can play with parrots and monkies, Port Praya may offer more charms than it can to me.”

After waiting in vain during several days for the Calypso, they purchased as much live stock as they could possibly stow, having hoisted out the long boat, and rigged her for sailing, to gain room. They entered the Bijuga channel on the 3d of June, with two boats constantly a-head sounding; and thus, on the 5th, they anchored within

sight of Bulama. Judging it expedient to have a better knowledge of the strait before venturing farther, Mr. Beaver, with the master of the Hankey, went in the long boat to explore it; and, perceiving two vessels at anchor near a square-bastioned fort, at Bissao, they rowed thither to procure a pilot. There they heard of a ship, answering to the description of the Calypso, having passed a few days before; and the appearance of a second strange sail in those unfrequented parts, excited a strong suspicion in the minds of the Bissaons of their being pirates. The Portuguese Governor, actuated by this idea, kept the whole party in close confinement for the night, determined to make the master produce his papers before he would grant a pilot. Beaver argued very warmly against condescending to this step, but to no avail, his costume of a sailor's jacket and trowsers not appearing consistent with his high tone; he was therefore detained as a hostage, until the required examination had taken place on the following day.

In the mean time the Calypso had joined company, after a melancholy event, which struck terror into the hearts of the colonists; and what rendered matters worse was, that the calamity resulted entirely from the contempt of method and discipline which characterized that ship. Being in want of fresh provisions, the Calypso sailed from Teneriffe

to Goree, a place well-known to be incapable of supplying any; but having procured a pilot, they ran through the Bijuga channel, and anchored at Bulama on the 25th of May. The colonists were allowed to go on shore without any kind of precaution, strolling about night and day, wherever they chose; some seeking crabs and muscles, others taking oysters from the mangrove branches; while many were inland botanizing, or hunting after lizards; and others chasing, "some butterflies, and some elephants." On the 30th, a war canoe, containing twenty or thirty armed men, reconnoitred the ship, but refused every advance towards friendly intercourse. Even this act did not suffice to instil any prudential measure, and consequently next morning it was discovered that the natives in the night had carried off all the tents which had been pitched on shore. Although, as yet, the colonists had no right to land, they immediately commenced erecting what they ridiculously termed a block-house, a mere hut, inclosed with inch plank; and in this place they deposited fire-arms, ammunition, and utensils, without planting a single sentinel.

On Sunday the 3d of June, instead of being called to prayers, and having that opportunity taken for pointing out the difficulties of their situation, and the necessity of order and industry, they were, as usual, permitted to follow their individual fancies.

Thus many were wandering over the island with the most incautious confidence, while a few were sleeping in the block-house, and some of the women and children sitting in its shade. In this criminally unguarded state, with all their guns lying still dismounted in the hold of the ship, they were suddenly alarmed by the Bijugas firing a volley of musketry into the hut, which rousing the sleepers, they rushed out, and were all shot. The savages then entered, and seized sixty stand of arms, loaded and primed; and with these very means sallied forth and accomplished their object. Loaded with booty they retreated to the bushes, having killed five men and one woman, desperately wounded four men, and carried off four women and three children; whilst not one of their own party received the slightest hurt.

“ Among all who suffered on this occasion,” says Beaver, “ the fate of Mr. and Mrs. Gardiner was certainly the most cruel, and the most lamented. He had been wounded by a musket-ball, and was endeavouring to reach the beach, when he was intercepted by one of the party of the islanders, who had been stationed for that purpose. To go back was certain death; to advance towards the ship, it was necessary to pass this man. Unarmed, and weakened by loss of blood, Mr. Gardiner advanced, bowing as he approached;

but the savage, regardless of his humiliation, made a stroke at him with his well-tempered cutlass, which Mr. Gardiner attempting to parry with his hand, it was severed from the arm at the wrist. He passed on into the water, and was one of those standing up to his chin in it, when the boats of the *Calypso* arrived to carry them on board. He died a few days afterwards. His wife, having witnessed the fate of her husband, was a prisoner in the hands of the savages; these, having rifled the block-house, and stripped the dead, began their retreat, with their prisoners and booty, across the island. Mrs. Gardiner was unfortunately lame, and unable to keep pace with their rapid march; they therefore shot her."

The irrational boldness of the colonists was now converted into the most groundless fear; no attempt was made to recover either the dying or the dead; but getting under sail, they were standing towards Bissao, where the *Hankey* and the cutter were seen at anchor. The communication between the two ships produced the worst consequences, for not only did the discontent and irregularity of the *Calypso* spread to her consort, but also a fever which had been contracted by her crew. Bitter reproaches against each other were heard in that unfortunate ship; and, finding the comfortable order in which the *Hankey* was kept, and that she had been care-

fully supplied with fresh provisions, they loudly accused their members of the Council of neglect. "They were tired with the length of the voyage, irritated with sickness, the loss of their associates, and the disappointment of their hopes; and became extremely dissatisfied with their situation." Indeed, apprehension and despondency had already become pretty general.

The first object after the junction of the ships was the redemption of the captive women and children; which was kindly undertaken by Señor De Sylva Cordoza, a merchant of Bissao, who sent a boat with some of his grumetas, or native servants, to King Bellechore, a savage remarkable for his exploits and his treachery, who resided at Canabac, with the articles requisite for their ransom. On the 19th, they returned with the prisoners, except a woman and child, who were detained in the clutches of King Jalorem, on another part of the island of Canabac. These females had been tolerably treated by the natives, for which they were indebted to the prejudice that makes them regard European women with disgust: "their devil," says Beaver, "is white."

After having procured a plentiful supply of water, provisions, and refreshments, the vessels proceeded to Bulama. On the 26th, Lieutenant Beaver proceeded, in the Beggar's Benison, to

Canabae, to effect the purchase of the new settlement; being accompanied by Mr. Moore, master of an American slave brig, who, from his influence with the natives, was to manage the negotiation. The town appeared to be about a mile in circuit, and to contain six or seven hundred inhabitants, all of whom crowded around our officer, with vociferations of astonishment,—“as if a white man was an animal they had heard of, but never seen.” The cutter was anchored before the houses; but not being above half the length of one of the negro war-canoes, the crew were obliged to keep her swivels constantly loaded and primed, with a vigilant watch to guard against surprise.

Early on the morning of the 27th, Jalorem's two sons being sent on board as hostages, the treaty was arranged, with the full participation of a numerous circle of chiefs. King Bellchore, who ruled the shores opposite to the island, having already experienced the sweets of treating with the English, made a long oration on the subject, which met with unanimous applause. The articles that were offered consisted of muskets, powder, brandy, tobacco, knives, cloth, hats, beads, cutlasses, and iron bars, to the value of about 80*l.* sterling, and 50*l.* were given to Moore for his agency. A deed of cession had been prepared, to which the two kings affixed their marks; a British union jack was

then given them, without which no canoe was ever to come to Bulama, and the whole affair was concluded with mutual satisfaction.

During this mission, our Lieutenant's first care had been to inquire after the wretched woman and child, who were still unredeemed in the hands of the Bijugas, as the natives of all these islands are called. The affecting scene which followed is best given in his own words.

“ We entered a house, composed of three concentric circles, with six doors through one of its diameters; in the inner circle lay the poor woman; but it was so dark, that we could not see, and she knew not of our arrival.

“ The natives, however, lighted many little parcels of long straws, which they held upright in their hands, and when burnt down nearly to their fingers, others stood by, with fresh ones to replace them, so that we had abundance of light.

“ On a wicker frame, supported by half a dozen posts, about a foot from the ground, and covered with long grass, lay Mrs. Harley and her infant child. When the light enabled her to discover that there was a white man in the room, she stared upon me with such a look of hope, of doubt, of fear, and of madness, as I shall never forget, but which I cannot describe.

“ ‘ Mrs. Harley,’ said I, ‘ I am come to put an

end to your sufferings, and to carry you back to your husband, whom I left well the day before yesterday.'

“ ‘ Who are you, Sir? How came you here? Do I dream? Are you a prisoner?’—‘ No, I am come here to redeem you and your child, to take you back to your family; and to purchase of the King the island of Bulama.’—‘ Will they let you go back? They won’t let you go back; they will keep you here.’—‘ No danger of that,’ I replied; ‘ we are now on friendly terms, and I trust shall hereafter live in peace and friendship.’

“ A little more conversation passed; when I said, that I had not yet seen the King; that I must go to him, and enter on the business about which I had come; and that I would then return to her, and settle at what time I should take her on board. She instantly seized my hand, and said, ‘ Will you go away and leave me, then?’—‘ No,’ said I, ‘ you shall see me again in an hour.’—‘ I never shall see you again; you will go away and leave me; I won’t part from you.’—‘ Be calm, Mrs. Harley, and compose yourself; depend upon my word, that the moment I have finished my business with the King, I will return to you.’—‘ No, never, never; if you go away, I never shall see you again; you will desert me; I see

that you mean to forsake me, and I shall be left to die amongst these murderous savages.'

“ ‘ By the God that made me (I hope the expression may be forgiven) I will not quit the island without you.’—‘ But suppose they will not give me up?’—‘ Then I will stay here, and die with you.’ She believed me, and was appeased; and I proceeded to the King.”

When the treaty was transacted, Mr. Beaver hastened back to the unfortunate woman, who was in the last stage of pregnancy; but as neither she nor her daughter had ever had their clothes off, nor been removed from the hurdle since their arrival, they were in an inconceivable state of filth and disease; while vermin had absolutely eaten holes into their flesh. From their debility, and the loathing of the natives, their removal became a matter of no small difficulty; nor, indeed, did it prove of any further avail, than to cheer their last distressing moments, for both mother and child died on board the cutter, a few hours afterwards, and their bodies were committed to the deep.

Returning to the ships on the 2d of July, Mr. Beaver was deeply mortified to find, that not only his advice of surveying the channel and coasts, during his absence, had been neglected, but that not one step had been taken towards preparing

habitations; for, in their improvident arrangements, the council had declined taking them out in frame. "Accustomed as I had been," he remarks, "to the weakness, folly, and absurdity of the measures hitherto pursued by the directors of this enterprise, yet I was astonished, I must confess, at no intention being shown, or even thought of, to avail ourselves of the right which we had now acquired; and which had been so imprudently, and so eagerly seized, when we had it not. Not a word was uttered, nor the least idea discovered of landing and commencing our labours; and the council and colonists separated, as if the written document itself was to create them a town. I, however, took a party of twelve men from the Hankey, landed, and worked till sunset."

This active measure excited a warm contention on board, as the boat rowed off. Those who really had embarked zealously in the undertaking, called upon the timid and the lukewarm to follow the example; but the majority of the council—the very founders of the Association, being partly dissatisfied, and partly terrified, treated the matter with a chilling coldness.

On returning to the Hankey, Mr. Beaver proposed that the rest of the colonists should be sent on shore to work, under regular inspection; but, after various excuses for evading active measures,

the Council met to discuss "where the ships should be moored during the rains?" This appearing but a prelude to the abandonment of the enterprise, our officer submitted,—“It is the opinion of the Council, that the present situation is the most proper place to moor the ships in;” in favour of which judgment there were four; and against it, nine. It was then resolved, “Seeing that the rainy season has already commenced, and it appearing, from the information of Captain Moore, as well as from every information we can collect, that we cannot land, because of the rains and fogs, at least for four months; and that, with every precaution, there will probably be a considerable mortality among the settlers during that time; and, considering withal, that a great proportion of the adventurers in each ship is solicitous to return to Europe, it is the opinion of the council that the two ships and the sloop should be removed to Sierra Leone to water, and then the expediency of proceeding to England, or of returning hither after the rains, shall be taken into consideration.”

Subsequent to the junction of the *Calypso*, Mr. Beaver, on finding so many discontented people in her, had already moved in the council, that those who chose should return to England in her; but, against such a pusillanimous determination, he entered an immediate protest. Indeed, in his

indignation at seeing a project about to be relinquished, without an effort at success, he declared he would remain on the island with his servant, even if every body else should leave it. This resolution becoming known, numbers of the settlers volunteered to share his fortunes; and it was finally agreed that the Hankey and Beggar's Benison should remain at Bulama. Our considerate colonist now endeavoured to persuade the married volunteers to return home, or at least send away their wives; but they, animated by the prospect of an active leader, persisted in remaining with their families. Thus, from the mutual discontent between the feeble directors and the disgusted colonists, the enterprise was virtually deserted; and, if the resolute intrepidity of Mr. Beaver had not intervened, would have been abandoned altogether.

“What, in the name of common sense,” he indignantly exclaims, “did we come here for? Did we not know that the rains would commence when they did, before we left England? That the labourers and servants should instantly acquiesce in the measure of abandoning the island does not surprise me; for most of them had no other motive in coming hither than to avoid difficulties in their own country, but they found them also here. To avoid, and not to encounter difficulties, is their

object; and, therefore, the same motives which induced them to undertake, will also induce them to abandon the enterprise. But what shall we say for the council? for those who conducted the undertaking, in thus giving it up, without even making an attempt for its success! Of all the individuals of which the colony was composed, I believe that I was the only one who had determined to return to Europe, after the first rains; or, at least, who had publicly avowed such an intention, before leaving England. But I cannot sneak back in this shameful manner.”

The island of Bulama is situate at the east end of the Bijuga archipelago, and was estimated to be about seven leagues in length, by from two to five in breadth; Hesperelensis, as the settlement on it was named, lying in latitude $11^{\circ} 34'$ north, and longitude $15^{\circ} 30'$ west. It rises gradually from the shore towards the centre, where the height is nearly a hundred feet; and it is generally covered with wood, though there are some natural savannahs, and a few clear spaces, affording ample pasturage to innumerable elephants, deer, buffaloes, and other wild animals. The soil is rich and fertile, producing a vegetation so luxuriant, that in their garden various vegetables, sufficient for half a dozen such colonies as their own, were speedily produced. From this abundance, and

its geographical position, it was inferred that Bulama was well calculated for the growth of cotton, indigo, tobacco, coffee, and sugar of the finest qualities. In his short and harassed residence, though surrounded by treachery and danger, and amidst severe mental and bodily trials, Mr. Beaver contrived to clear fifty acres of wood land, and to enclose sixteen of them. This exertion, together with the toil of keeping his account-books and journals, building a block-house, and all the necessary duties of governing his motley group, are the most satisfactory criterion of the activity which he displayed. Indeed he appears to have been obliged to practise a little of everything, being alternately carpenter, engineer, sexton, rector, magistrate, and physician.

The Calypso sailed on the 19th of July, and had no sooner taken her departure, than the committee met, and unanimously voted Mr. Beaver their President, and Lieutenant Hancorne his Deputy. Regulations for the health, safety, discipline, and religious worship of the Establishment, which now consisted of fifty-three men, thirteen women, and twenty-five children, were proposed and adopted; and a spirit of industry immediately manifested itself, which formed a striking contrast to their late inactivity. The cutter was despatched to Bissao to negotiate a regular supply of fresh pro-

visions : one party was building a roof over the ship against the rains, and another was cutting down timber ; while those who were not artisans endeavoured to explore the country. The “fell serjeant,” however, soon commenced his havoc, for in two days after the *Calypso* had left them, one of the women, and the newly-elected vice-president expired.

On the 23rd of July, a schooner arrived, commanded by Mr. Bootle, an intelligent mulatto, from whom Mr. Beaver found that the *Biafaras*, an inoffensive nation on the main land, had a better claim to *Bulama* than the *Bijugas*, who had sold it to him. It was, therefore, immediately resolved, as an act of strict justice and prudence, to satisfy any demand which they might make ; and being also desirous of purchasing a portion of the opposite coast, our President requested Bootle’s assistance, offering him a recompense of one hundred bars, a species of barter equal to about fifteen pounds sterling. The mulatto handsomely declined the proffered reward, though ready to be of all the service in his power ; and through the whole business he displayed such frank integrity, that it excites the deepest sympathy to find he was shortly afterwards cut off by the *Manjacks*, and murdered, together with his crew.

The instant the *Beggar’s Benison* returned from

Bissao, Mr. Beaver sailed for the Rio Grande, with the requisite assortment of goods for effecting the desired purchases. In about five hours he reached Ghinala, a district of the Biafara country, situated thirty miles up a most beautiful river with sufficient depth of water for the largest ships. Matchore and Niobana, the two kings, whose towns were about a quarter of a mile asunder, received him in a most friendly manner, and then went on board the cutter to arrange the bargain; but repeated drams so overpowered their majesties, that the palaver was adjourned to the next day. On the 2d of August, Matchore embarked to select the goods which were to constitute the price of the land; Niobana, being ill, sent "his head woman with his cane to represent himself." This tedious choosing continued eight hours, without coming to a conclusion, and might have lasted as long on the following day, had they not luckily been capsize-d in going on board, which occasioned them to make up their minds a little sooner, amidst the dazzling temptations, as they were very cold, from what little clothes they wore being wet. The price of Bulama, a much greater extent on the opposite shore, and all the adjacent isles, amounted to twenty-six pounds.

"Saturday, 4th. Early this morning I went up to Niobana's town, to get him to sign the cou-

veyance of the land which I had yesterday purchased, and which Matchore had signed on board the cutter. He did so; and immediately afterwards taking hold of both my hands, and lifting them up near to his lips (I supposed with an intention of kissing) he spat into them, saying, 'that now Bulama and the other lands which I had been treating for were mine; that his town, even where I stood, belonged to me; and that now we were brothers.' To be called the brother of Niobana I had no objection, but would willingly have dispensed with the ceremony by which I was made so."

Returning to Bulama on the following day, the President found that young Hancorne had in the interim died, and that the sick list had increased to twenty-two; in consequence of which he sent the cutter to Sierra Leone for the assistant surgeon, who had been allowed to go thither in the *Calypso*, to attend the patients. Four of the colonists took this opportunity of requesting leave to go home; which, from Mr. Beaver's resolution to detain no one, was instantly granted. Notwithstanding the incessant rains, he proceeded to Bissao in the cutter, whence she was despatched to her destination, while he remained to arrange, with Mr. de Sylva, for a regular supply of refreshments. During this time he fell extremely ill; yet, notwith-

standing his weakness, he returned to the settlement the moment he had concluded his business. Two of the colonists had expired in his absence, to one of whom, Mr. Marston, the surveyor, he pays a high tribute of praise, as a truly good and valuable man, of noble mind and great acquirements ; but who had been reduced in circumstances by the American Revolution.

The exposure and fatigue which Mr. Beaver underwent could not but retard his recovery. His disorder, though he appeared to be convalescent, shortly afterwards grew rapidly worse, and about the middle of August he was so reduced, that his life was despaired of: his feelings, and those of the settlers, are thus described in the Journal.—“I am aware that I shall be accused of consummate vanity for what I am now about to write: be it so—for I allow that even to the last moment of my recollection, when I absolutely thought that I was no longer for this world ; when I was actually deprived of my speech, but not of my senses, I felt great consolation in what I heard every one say of me ; for as no one conceived that I was sensible, or could possibly live an hour longer, they probably spoke only their real sentiments.

“The people had crowded about the cabin-door all day, inquiring after my health, and shewed great anxiety for my recovery. As the front of

my cabin, from one side of the ship to the other, was one continued window, I could hear everything that was said, but could not be seen, on account of a canvas screen round that part where my cot hung. Reader ! if this should ever be seen by other eyes than my own, call me vain if you please, for I do assure you that I was exceedingly so, when I heard every individual speaking only my praise ; the breath of slander itself could not accuse me of any one thing which I wished not the world to know : every one said, that I had killed myself by my exertions for their good ; that labouring and exposing myself, so much as I had done, no constitution could stand ; that now they must go home ; for, as they had lost me, there was no one left who could take care of them.

“ Between seven and eight in the evening I could no longer articulate ; but was seized with a rattling in my throat, which I conceived to be a symptom of my no very distant dissolution. I was still sensible ; and, indeed, for an hour after the rattling had first seized me. It was now that I heard every one say that it was all over, and that Captain Cox, sitting by the sky-light almost immediately over me, said that to-morrow he should have orders to get ready to sail for England. This, now that I am better, Mr. Munden and Mr. Aberdeen, the only two members of the committee,

have confirmed ; as they had made up their minds to give such orders the moment I was dead : for neither of them would take charge of the colony ; and indeed if they would, nobody would have staid when I was gone.

“ I can with truth aver, that if in these moments I had the least wish to live, it was to preserve this colony. Death, if thou never comest in greater terrors, I shall never be afraid to meet thee ; for the happiest moments of my existence were those when I expected to cease to be. May my future life be such, as to enable me always to meet thee thus !”

The life of our officer was, however, providentially spared for greater exertions ; and in a few days he was again at work, tracing out the lines for an intended block-house, on the summit of the hill. Finding that the maxim, of individual welfare being necessarily dependant on the general, was not understood, Mr. Beaver determined on employing all the labourers in erecting a range of buildings within a square inclosure, which should answer the double purpose of defence and dwelling ; thereby checking the interested disposition which some of them evinced, for erecting edifices according to their own ideas of comfort and situation. The houses were afterwards to be drawn for by lot, with the only exception, that the most

industrious should have theirs covered the first. Several of the subscribers were dissatisfied that he would not give them a little spot for a garden ; but as he conceived that their whole labour would be devoted to it, he thought the interests of the community rather required a public one.

These disagreeable contentions occasioned him great uneasiness, as some of the members became extremely unruly ; and he felt it necessary, for the safety of the whole, to act with firmness and vigour. He was determined, with so weak a party, to work entirely on the public account, although he felt, could circumstances have permitted, that each labourer would have rendered infinitely more on his own allotted ground, than when cultivating in common. One of the settlers, irritated at being obliged to dig at the block-house, said, “ that he would live in a hut by himself, for he was not afraid.”—“ Yes,” said Beaver, “ you are afraid ;—I order you instantly inside, and I dare you to disobey.”

On the 26th of August, Bellechore, with a large party, came to visit the settlement. Although such a compliment was not at all desirable at that early period, Mr. Beaver politically welcomed him with a salute, and most indulgently entertained him, which kindness was returned with a present of live stock, and in the course of two days he took his

leave. On this occasion the old king put on a ceremonial dress over his goat skin, and changed a red woollen cap for a three-cornered hat, decorated with buttons. When the hour of sleep arrived, his sable majesty, who had been unsparing in his attentions to the spirits, would not go to bed until a bottle and glass were placed by his pillow; "for," said he, "suppose I must wake in the night, that time I can drink rum too."

Towards the end of August, the number of men who were capable of working being reduced to twenty-four, the watches were contracted from four to three, and several were excused that they might commence other labour at day-light.

Mr. Hood, who went on shore with these early parties, had, on the morning of the 1st of September, gone into the woods to visit a guinea hen's nest, but being missing towards evening, apprehensions were entertained for his safety, especially as he had a dysentery, and a bad ulcerated leg. At night all was silent "except frogs and mosquitos," a gun was fired, and a light kept burning, though they never expected to see him again. At length on the following morning he made his appearance, having wandered all the preceding day until night, when, alarmed by the growling of a wild beast, he climbed a tree, although his right of occupation was disputed by a family of monkies. He arrived

very much fatigued at the block-house, having eaten nothing, except a small yellow plum which grew spontaneously; but, what is the most extraordinary, entirely cured of his dysentery, apparently by this fruit, and his leg a great deal better.

Mortality, fever, and heavy rains retarded the progress of the works on shore so much, that Mr. Beaver determined on making the few who were able, continue their labour on the Sunday afternoons, though not without meeting some objection. As the very existence of the colony depended upon having a place of security, before the departure of the Hankey, his arguments were very short; and an order, that he who did not work should not eat on a Sunday, quickly overcame all their scruples.

By the end of September, the establishment was reduced to fifty-eight, of whom thirty were ill! The President was therefore brought to "the melancholy necessity" of reducing the intended block-house from a hundred and eighty by a hundred and fifteen, to a hundred and fifteen feet square. A boat, which had been brought out in frame, was launched, and called the *Perseverance*; and the rains being nearly over, the covering which had been constructed to shelter the ship, was taken off, and sent on shore. Notice was now given that the Hankey would sail for England about the middle of November; and as the people were much

depressed in spirits, Mr. Beaver demanded the names of those who intended to abandon the colony, that he might not build more houses than were requisite.

A determined spirit like his was now vitally necessary, as an example to those who wavered, respecting this last chance of returning to their native shores. Several, who did not openly give their opinion, were not the less earnest in trying to shake his resolution, in order that all might retreat with credit; and the doors of the new store-house were found chalked with—" *It is death to stay.*" " Yet," he remarks, in a letter, " the mortality must certainly be attributed to the laborious fatigue attending a first attempt to settle a colony; and the necessity we were reduced to, of working in the rains, in order to have a fort to defend, and a house to cover us. At the beginning of the dry season, when we expected the ship was to leave us, had we been strong enough to have worked but little, and that during the intervals of the rains, I really think but few would have died. But with little strength we found it necessary to work from morn to night, except when the rains poured like torrents, and by these we were often caught, when going in the boat, either on board or on shore."

There is little doubt but that several of the hapless settlers also accelerated their own fates by an

injudicious use of minerals and drugs ; for a large quantity of Tartar emetic, James's powders, and other powerful medicines, were found in the chest of Mr. Banfield. It was also proved that this ignorant man had been in the habit of administering strong doses to his companions, even while they were in sound health !

“ He physic's use doth quite mistake,
That physic takes, for physic's sake.”

The Beggar's Benison returned from Sierra Leone on the 6th of October, but the assistant-surgeon had declined to rejoin them. She, however, brought back Captain Paiba, one of the four who left them on the 7th of August, with his wife, child, and servant ; and what was of infinitely more importance, two Papel grumetas, or hired native labourers from Bissao—it being now evident that, without such assistance, they could neither complete their works, nor afterwards retain them.

“ October 18th.—Mr. Banfield, who has been some time in a state of lunacy, attempted to destroy the ship's steward, by laying his skull open with a three-cornered scraper ; and we have very strong grounds to believe that the ship's cook, who was drowned on the 2d instant, was rolled overboard, in his sleep, by this same Mr. Banfield, at that time insane.” Beaver was obliged to confine

this unfortunate gentleman in irons, which, with the trouble occasioned about the same time, by Mr. Rowe, the surgeon, harassed him greatly in the execution of his duties. The latter had long been dissatisfied, but his turbulent temper now sought every opportunity of sowing dissension in the minds of others, besides entirely neglecting his medical services under pretence of illness, by which culpable remissness several persons died without his having even seen them. He appears to have been harsh and profligate, and his murmurs might have occasioned mischief, had they not provoked general contempt. He was so pertinacious in endeavouring to excite cabals, that nothing would silence him, except Beaver's threatening "to put him in irons, and chain him like a bear to a tree."

To the varied duties of our indefatigable leader, were now added the gloomy ones, not only of reading the funeral service over the dead, but of digging graves for their reception, owing to the disgust which the grumetas expressed at the sight of a white corpse. At length the time for the Hankey's departure drawing near, the colonists landed on the 8th of November with their baggage; but through their incorrigible indolence, and in spite of all admonition, there was still little or no shelter for them. A four pounder was placed at each of the gates, and an evening gun fired to announce

vigilance and watching ; but the people were greatly dispirited, and on the 10th, the diary notes,—
“ Though ill with a fever, turned out three times in the night, from alarms given, through the fear and madness of Robinson. Made him at last go to sleep under my cot.”

These agitations irritated the disorder of Mr. Beaver, insomuch that he was unable to rise for a fortnight. “ 23d. From the 10th instant I have been too ill to keep a journal, and am now scarcely able to scribble a few lines to the trustees, before the Hankey sails, her charter having expired the day after I was confined to my bed.” It assuredly required the nerves of a hero to preserve the settlement, assailed as it was by treachery, disease, and death ; and to endeavour in such confusion and distress to establish order and prosperity, was worthy of the vigorous mind, which could undertake to colonise and govern, without any assistance or authority from the government of his country.

After the sailing of the Hankey, the general depression increased, and strenuous exertions became necessary to decide the fate of the colonists, for the original number of two hundred and seventy-five persons was now reduced to twenty-eight ! Of these few, the only seaman, and therefore the only fit person to command the cutter, was ascertained to be a notorious pirate. “ However,” says Beaver,

who made the best of every thing, “ the knowing a man to be a villain, is getting over every difficulty.”

The whole of the establishment now fell ill ; but on the 5th of December, four men had fortunately so far recovered as to be logging the block-house with the grumetas, when they were surprised and annoyed to see Bellechore coming round the point with a strong party of well-appointed men. Beaver immediately beat to arms, saluted him, and loaded the great guns with grape shot ; by which time the aged savage had landed, and marched up in battle array to within forty yards of the east gate, where he halted. Having placed two sentinels at each gate, with orders to kill the first man who should attempt to pass by force, the President went forth to meet Bellechore, who knew and embraced him very cordially. The Bijugas begged hard to be admitted, for the sight of the cannons terrified them from open attempts, and at length permission was given to Bellechore alone to enter the block-house ; but as his Majesty had been overheard to intimate his intention of attacking them, he was received with the most rigid caution, tempered with politeness.

The four colonists and seven grumetas, in whom the defence consisted, were warned that their safety depended upon firmness and union ; and as a proof of his own resolution, Mr. Beaver took the heads out

of two barrels of gunpowder, which were, amongst many others, close to the cot in which he made the old king sleep, and placed lighted matches by them; there being no alternative between preserving the place, or blowing the whole to atoms. The small garrison was divided into two watches, one commanded by the Lieutenant, and the other by Johnson, a grumeta, for not one of the colonists was well enough to undertake the charge. Only one of the cutter's crew then remained, and he was on board, with orders to fire into the hut amongst Bellechore's people, if he should hear the report of two muskets.

These hints were sufficient for the Bijuga chief, whose hostility or friendship were balanced by circumstances, and the night passed away quietly. But two of the colonists were much worse in the morning, from the cold dews, and the fatigue of watching; and two of the grumetas, still less able than the whites to bear such hardships, were taken ill.

Mr. Beaver, seeing his force thus diminish, intimated to Bellechore, that "there was much work to do; that the people would not attend to it while his men were on the island; that he would be happy if he would stay, but that he must send his Bijugas away." The wary savage, after a pause, finding his design was frustrated, replied, "My son has reason; I see you have much to do—we will de-

part." Some handsome presents being given him, he quitted the settlement about an hour before sunset, under a salute from the block-house.

The feverish anxiety and extraordinary exertion of this memorable night, so affected the Lieutenant's own health also, that on the 13th, having recovered from a delirious fit, he sent for Messrs. Fielder and Hood, the only subscribers who were able to move, before whom he made his will, and gave them advice how to act after his death. The following morning, "died, and were buried, both Mr. and Mrs. Freeman: this couple I married on the 4th of last month. They were both taken ill about ten minutes after the ceremony was performed, and have been so ever since. They both died this morning within ten minutes of each other, and were both buried in the same grave."

The grumetas now became dissatisfied, and, with the exception of two, went away on the 15th. "Harwin, one of the only three men who are well, told me this evening that he wished to leave the colony, and go to Bissao, which I readily acceded to, having never asked a man to remain, who showed the least inclination to leave the island. Such dastardly wretches were never seen. Died and was buried this evening, Mr. Fielder. This is the man, who two days ago made my will, and whom I thought likely to be my successor.

He was young and brave—fit to draw a lion's tooth."

The two remaining grumetas were sent on the 16th to Bissao, when Harwin and his son left the colony, leaving Watson, the Lieutenant's servant, the only colonist well, on shore, and Peter Hayles in the cutter. "Watson and myself slept in the east gateway, every other being barricadoed; and I collected the colonists, being seven sick men, into the adjoining berth, that we might be in a body in case of an attack."

Two days after, a cool N. E. wind sprung up, in which the thermometer never rose higher than 77° , whence the patients revived surprisingly. "Its bracing coolness," says Mr. Beaver, "has almost recovered me, who have been from daylight till dark exposed to it, while our indolent sick have been pent up all day in their stinking eating-house, which has scarcely been cleaned since they came on shore, rather than exert themselves so much as to go into this renovating air. In the evening, when we leave off work, Peter goes on board the cutter, and my man and myself remain to defend the block-house! 'Tis well we are not attacked. Since the departure of the Hankey, I have had no one to speak to, no conversation. I do not think it safe to show lights, and therefore cannot read in the evenings; indeed, my head at present could

not bear it; so that, after we leave off work, I sit about two hours alone in the dark, in sullen deliberation on what we are to do on the morrow, and then go to bed."

These listless moments were the cause of many painful reflections; for it was then that imagination forcibly excited unavailing vexation, at the want of conduct which disgraced all the preliminary proceedings. At those times, also, the pensive recollection of relations and friends would anxiously intrude, and often for the moment disturb even his stoical firmness.

"Thoughts succeed thoughts like restless troubled waves
Dashing out one another."

The deaths of Mr. Aberdeen, the last member of the council, and Mr. Sparks, the last subscriber but one, on the 21st of December, occasioned the following remark:—"Since the first of this month, of nineteen men, four women, and five children, we have buried nine men, three women, and one child, which is, except one, half the whole colony. It is melancholy, no doubt, but many have absolutely died through fear."

A reinforcement of twenty grumetas, "a cargo more valuable than gold," roused the survivors from despondency, though Mr. Beaver received intimations from his friend de Sylva, that the Canabacs would attack him.

Every precaution was accordingly taken, when, on the 29th, some canoes filled with armed men, led by Jalorem's two sons, arrived on a pretended friendly visit, bearing and receiving presents as tokens of perfect amity. But it was afterwards discovered that they meditated a treacherous attack, and were diverted from it only by the accidental firing of a gun, which was regarded by those savages as a bad omen. It was plotted, that the two brothers were to stab the President, and, on a signal from them to their companions outside, the east gate was to have been stormed, and the whole of the English put to death.

The negroes having reported a large ship at the back of the island, with "too much white people on board," Mr. Beaver went off to pilot her to the anchorage. She proved to be the Scorpion sloop of war, under orders to render every possible assistance to the colony; but, owing to the badness of the charts, she was on the point of returning to Cape Roxo, when the President got on board. Guided by him, she was soon anchored in safety before the block-house, and the garrison of Hesperoleus had the proud satisfaction of having their salute returned by a British man of war! This unexpected arrival was a source of great happiness, and a plea for the first holiday since their disembarkation.

"January 12th, 1793.—This evening, the Scor-

pion sailed. From Captain Ferris, I received every civility ; and, from his saying he had orders to render us any assistance in his power, I requested permission of him to ask, among his crew, for six volunteers to strengthen the colony, as I had heard there were men in his ship who would accept the offer ; but he told me, that was a point in which he could not assist me, as he had no authority to discharge any of his men. However, one of his midshipmen of the name of Scott, who was very anxious to remain, he at length discharged, and I gave him the command of the cutter." But, although he could not obtain the number of seamen he wished, the visit of the Scorpion proved a most providential occurrence, as it saved the colony from imminent danger. For it was afterwards found, that Bellchore, with one hundred and fifty warriors, had landed, and was actually within fifty yards of the gateway, when two muskets were fired from the Scorpion's boat, the officer of which was doubtful where he was. These being answered by the cutter and block-house sentinel, the old savage decamped, in the full assurance that he had been discovered, and that the colonists had been reinforced from the ship with " too much white people on board."

As the edifice was conceived to be perfectly secure from sudden attacks by the 10th of Fe-

brnary, they thenceforward ceased to work on the Sabbath, "which," says Beaver, "I thought it unjustifiable to do, before our people could go to prayers in safety."

After the celebration of divine worship on the following Sunday, a disgraceful scene took place. "Some of the colonists and Johnson, the grumeta, were very riotous, particularly the latter; so much so, that it became necessary to beat to arms. James Watson I was obliged to strike with the butt end of my fusil, and was then going to seize Johnson and put him in irons, when he presented a cocked pistol in each hand, and said that he would rather be killed at once than put in irons, as he knew that I should flog him severely. At this moment, Peter Hayles, who was close by me, asked if he should fire at him, saying that if I would give the orders, he would shoot him dead on the spot. This sanguinary fellow I called a scoundrel, and, ordering his musket to be taken from him, gave my own to Mr. Hood, and then went up to Johnson and seized him by the collar: he immediately burst into tears, and dropped both his pistols, saying, that he could not fire upon an unarmed man."

Hesperelensis was visited on the 28th by Matchore, King of Ghinala, with his wife and three attendants. The colonists had already found

the Biafaras to be a peaceable race, and some of their hunters, who came over "to make trade," had been very useful, from the game which they daily shot and brought in. In nine days, one of these killed twenty-five guinea hens, four deer, and a mountain goat, besides wounding three elephants: "in short," exclaims the president, "to live here, a man has nothing to do but to plant yams, and be a good marksman."

With Matchore came a Mandingo priest, or gris-gris merchant, as the venders of magical charms are called. "To this priest I had made some handsome presents, and he this day, in return, gave me twelve gris-gris, and assured me that they would inevitably secure me from all danger; at the same time he gave me directions how to dispose of them. Some were to be carried about my person; one secretly placed over each gateway; another kept under my pillow; and another under the roof of the house which I was building, &c. I received them with as much gratitude as if I had implicit belief in their virtue, and promised to follow his directions in their disposal. I was the more astonished at this present, because in the morning, when he boasted of the strength or virtue of his gris-gris, I had ridiculed them, and desired him to put all that he thought proper to protect from death by a musket-ball, on the neck of one of

my fowls, and that if I did not immediately shoot it dead, I would give him ten bars."

"March 15th.—Discharged this day, at their own request, to go home in the Nancy, Thomas Box and Thomas Griffiths, two worthless and indolent vagabonds, who have never done any work, who have never been of the least use to us; also Mrs. Riches, the only surviving woman, widow of one of the labourers, and Mary Box, the only surviving girl." This separation left the men of the colony but five in number, of whom two were blacks, and two boys; there were also three men in the cutter, neither of whom, however, had come from England with the settlers.

In this weak state they received another visit from the ferocious Bellechore, on which all the grumetas were collected within the block-house, and only two attendants at a time admitted with the king. It was thought politic to make no mention of the late treacherous plot, "though I had intended," says Mr. Beaver, "to reproach him with his perfidy, and to have assured him, that nothing that he had done was unknown to me; then to have flogged him, and turned him unarmed from the island." But several displays of power were made to confirm them in their high idea of "all white man witch," such as firing shot so as to make them rise several times out of the water—bidding the

magnetic needle always to point one way—bringing the sun down on a man's head by means of the quadrant—and, above all, sitting on a cannon while it was fired!

“ So lookers on feel most delight
Who least perceive the juggler's flight ;
And still the less they understand,
The more they admire the slight of hand.”

Notwithstanding the smallness of their numbers, the advanced state of the block-house gave Mr. Beaver such security from attacks, that on the night following Bellechore's departure, he writes thus:—“ Undressed myself this night for the first time, except when I was ill, for eight months and nine days ; for, though I trust that I have no improper fears, I have hitherto always thought it prudent to have arms within my reach, and to be ready to act in a moment, without losing the time necessary for dressing.” The progress of the houses, also, now allowed of a portion of time being devoted to the enclosing of fields and gardens ; but, strange to relate, a wonderful sort of stupidity seized all the colonists, except Mr. Scott, the midshipman, and a boy,—some so completely losing their memory as to become nearly idiots.

May the 12th, while “ playing the conjuror” to a party of friendly Biafaras, Mr. Beaver shewed them various prints. Of these they did not seem

to comprehend the meaning, until they saw an elephant and a monkey portrayed in a view of Sierra Leone, after which they immediately understood all that was exhibited. To the merit of Lavater they paid the strongest tribute, in suddenly screaming and quitting the room the moment his portrait of "the angry wicked man" was placed before them.

Shortly after the departure of these people on the following morning, thirteen elephants were discovered about two miles off, swimming from the opposite shore. Mr. Scott, in the boat, fired to prevent their landing, by which all but the first were driven into a muddy bay, where the footing was insufficient to enable them to gain the beach, while the constant firing of the midshipman prevented their return to the river. In this situation, unable either to advance or retreat, the tide left them; when the whole garrison, amounting to fifteen men, were ordered to the attack, and continued it for three hours, at the distance of from four to twelve yards. The fire was chiefly at a mother and her young one, the latter of which, having had its proboscis and tail cut off, uttered heart-rending cries. The mother received one hundred and fifty shot about her head, and several deep bayonet wounds in her flank, before she expired, and was so sensible of the source of the injury,

that she cast about her proboscis, tossed up the mud, and moaned lamentably every time a musket was presented at her. In short, Beaver determined never more to approach any of those noble animals, unless provided with iron slugs.

On the 14th, when going down to their victims, several hippopotami were seen in the water; but all pursuit of them was rendered useless, by their dexterity in diving. "The dead elephant grounded in about three feet water, on its side, and while Peter Hayles was cutting out its tusks with a broad axe, I sat on its upper side with a long pike to prick the sharks which surrounded it, on the nose, and keep them from him, during which time there were never less than seven or eight trying to nibble at it."

The rains setting in shortly afterwards, occasioned considerable inconvenience, from the roofs being ill thatched; for, from the weakness of the people, such imperfections were not easily remedied. By a Portuguese deserter from Bissao, the president was informed that he might easily recruit his numbers from that garrison, provided he would receive those who fled to him: "but," he exclaims, "much as I want men, and valuable as their acquisition would be, I had rather lose those which I now have, than receive others who, by coming, must commit a crime." Holding such

sentiments, he sent the deserter back to the fortress, having first made the best terms he could for him with the governor.

Another visit from Bellehore, on the 16th of July, occasions the following remark:—"He was exceedingly importunate to make me promise to come and see him at Canabac; he was labouring that point the whole of yesterday; 'his women do nothing but cry to see me; I must come and see them, or they will die.' The cunning old rascal! he forgets that 'all white man witch.' He plainly sees that he can do nothing by force, and now he wants to get my person into his power."

The 19th of July was the anniversary of the Calypso's departure, and every body was now ill, except Messrs. Beaver and Scott. "At nine o'clock last night," says the former, "I had written my journal, and was sitting down to a broiled fowl for my supper, when the mate of the cutter knocked at the block-house gate, and was let in. My door was opened, and two Europeans, two Englishmen, appeared before me. It is impossible to express my astonishment, my joy, my feelings, at the sight. Their florid complexions, their appearance of health and vigour, were such a contrast to the yellow skins, and shrivelled carcasses, which I had for a long time been accustomed only to see, that I gazed upon them the whole evening. I thought

them the handsomest mortals I had ever beheld." They belonged to the *Felicity* schooner, from London, in the service of the Sierra Leone Company, with orders to touch at Bulama. She brought provisions for the colony, and despatches from the trustees, exhorting Mr. Beaver not to quit the colony, and promising to send out more settlers in about two months. These letters also gave him notice of the war with France, but represented it as not likely to last beyond the current year.

This intelligence was a source of great inquietude; by the conditions of his leave of absence, he was bound to join his profession within six months after being so required by the Gazette: which time had already elapsed. Then came the embarrassment whether to go, or to stay; on the one hand, he had everything to expect—promotion, wealth, and honour; on the other, neither pay nor support, nothing but the satisfaction of having faithfully fulfilled his engagement. Actuated by this generous feeling, he addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, regretting his inability to comply with the order for all naval officers to return to England, "having," he adds, "the direction of a small colony, whose very existence depends upon my presence. If I disobey their Lordships' orders in the Gazette, I know that I am liable to lose my commission; and if I obey them,

I never deserved one. I hope their Lordships will observe the peculiar hardship of my situation, and give me credit, when I aver, that the King has not an officer more attached to him, his country, and constitution, than myself; that it is with the greatest regret I find myself obliged to be absent from the fleet in the time of war; and that I shall embrace the first opportunity of joining my profession."

In addressing the trustees, Mr. Beaver, in his confidence that all the misfortunes at Bulama originated in want of attention and industry, exclaims, "The good people of England need not be afraid of coming out. They will find a fort ready to protect them. They need not be much afraid of the climate: I think it a tolerably healthy one. They need not run the risk of clearing a spot of ground to build on: I have already as much cleared as a large town would cover. They need not work, as we were obliged to do, for a covering or defence, either when it rains, or in the heat of the sun; for I will shelter them. They need not be frightened; for I will insure their safety. In short, they need not be exposed to any of the inconveniences which we have experienced, and therefore I think it fair to suppose, that few of them will die. We want a reinforcement of men; they should be carpenters, blacksmiths, and brick-

layers, accustomed to labour; not such as we brought out, habituated to drunkenness, idleness, and all the vices of the capital. Be careful that the assistant surveyor knows his business well, and that he be capable of acting as principal, in case of the death of the surveyor. In this country it is well to have duplicates of useful men."

The luckless colonists now began more heavily to feel the effects of the rainy season, and the grumetas took every advantage of their helplessness. These men were principally from the Papel, or Manjack nations: the former, ignorant and bigoted; the latter, deceitful, lying, and dishonest. Much coercion was requisite to make them feel that they were hired servants, not masters; and, from the baneful influence which their gris-gris had in dispiriting the labourers, severe punishment was permitted to be inflicted on two who pretended to magic; one of whom sturdily persisted that he had frequently changed himself into an alligator! A Manjack, who attempted to stab the President, was turned off the island for his excessive folly, in trying to hurt him, "whom twenty of them could not wound," but a rope and block were attached to a large tree to hang the first that should thenceforward draw his knife. To one he was obliged to administer twelve dozen lashes, for endeavouring to force a gate during

Bellechore's last visit; and to another still more, for breaking into the storehouses. Such necessary severities kept their evil propensities in check; but now, when all the English were afflicted with fevers, Beaver himself dangerously ill, and poor Scott, the midshipman, on his death-bed; these worthless fellows pilfered with impunity. Besides taking away the cow, and most of the fowls, the store-rooms were robbed to a serious extent, and all the Lieutenant's shirts and silk handkerchiefs stolen. Many of these goods were recovered at Bissao, and politely returned by the Governor with a kind message, "begging me not to punish any of my grumetas, but send them away, if they behaved ill; and to have regard for my life, which would be in much danger from their thirst of revenge. A Manjack, he says, never forgives an injury while the man lives who inflicted it. I have never injured one of them, I have only given them what they deserved."

The president illustrates the surly disposition of a Manjack by a forcible anecdote. The mast of a sloop, which anchored at Bulama, was shivered by lightning during a violent tornado; by which accident one man was killed and another wounded. "I saw the man on shore," he observes, "who had been burnt by the lightning, and who, till my approach, was bemoaning his fate. His

left side, from a little above the hip, all the way down the outside of his thigh and leg, was shockingly burnt, and perfectly raw. I ran for a bottle of sweet oil and a feather, with which I instantly returned, and anointed, with the gentlest hand and greatest care, the burnt parts; all which time he appeared perfectly indifferent to my attention. When I had finished I gave him the bottle and the feather, and, by means of our interpreter, I told him to do the same three times a day; that it would ease the pain, and soon heal the wound. He took them with the greatest coolness, without altering a muscle of his countenance, without shewing the least symptom of being pleased, or of gratitude, and without uttering a word in reply. He did not even look at me when I went away!"

With returning health Mr. Beaver renewed his exertions, though under the most discouraging circumstances imaginable, being neglected in England, and therefore destitute of resources. The idiotic lapse of memory had returned to all except himself, and he fortunately escaped, though he had had more mental and bodily fatigue than the whole of the others put together. The employment now was grubbing up stumps, paling, and sinking a well in the centre of the block-house court-yard; a measure of the highest importance to its preservation in case of attack. While work-

ing at the latter, something yellow and shining was dug up and immediately brought to me. "Suppose we should find gold, Sir?" said Williams. "I had rather find water," said I. He thought I was a fool."

The toil, however, was too great for their diminished numbers; and, towards the end of October, while weak and desponding, they were so terrified at the prospect of a hostile visit from the Bijugas, as to become extremely importunate to abandon the establishment. Hayles and Bennet had already deserted, on hearing from a friendly Papel of an intended attack; others were detected planning an escape; and Mr. Hood declared he could not sleep from the fear of having his throat cut. Indeed he confessed that, in dressing, his shirt got entangled over his head so that he could not see, and he remained motionless for nearly a quarter of an hour, from the dread of a Bijuga having seized him, though he endeavoured to reason himself out of the absurdity.

In hopes of the promised reinforcement from home, Mr. Beaver made every possible delay, and fruitlessly endeavoured to convince his companions that their fears were groundless. Little did he imagine that his despatches had been fraudulently withheld; and that the trustees were consequently in ignorance of the state of affairs at Bulama!

Meantime the alarms increased, and the robberies of the grumetas became more daring; till at length, on the 14th of November, the colony now consisting of Mr. Hood, the two blacks, and Williams, a man who had deserted from Moore's vessel, flatly announced their determination of immediately quitting the island. Aware that his remaining alone could answer no good purpose, the president reluctantly yielded to necessity, and made preparations for his departure,—a measure he could not contemplate without the most poignant regret, after so much anxious exertion, in which he had actually proved that the main object of the undertaking, the raising of colonial produce, was practicable. The clearing of ground, therefore, was now discontinued; and, by some judicious arrangements, having sold or embarked everything that was moveable, he quitted for ever this scene of calamity, and sailed for Sierra Leone in the Beggar's Benison, on the 29th of November, 1793. Nor was even this trip without danger, for the cutter had now scarcely any gear; her anchor was a makeshift, her cable was rotten, and she was quite unprovided with stores of any description.

The party were most hospitably received at Sierra Leone, but were unable to procure sufficient supplies to render the cutter seaworthy; nor, not-

withstanding the reputed forests, could they get a stick of a proper size to replace their sprung main-boom. Indeed, the general capability of this colony struck our experienced leader in a much less sanguine point of view than it had done its projectors; "when," says he, "they make a hog's-head of sugar there, I will engage to do the same at Charing Cross." These circumstances induced him to abandon his intention of navigating the cutter to England, especially as he was able to sell her and her cargo for upwards of a thousand pounds sterling.

The two blacks and Williams having expressed a wish to remain at Free-town, Beaver embarked on board the Harpy with Mr. Hood, and arrived at Plymouth on the 17th of May, 1794. From Exeter, with his accustomed promptness, he wrote the following characteristic note to M. le Mesurier.—“ I this day arrived in Plymouth Sound, on board the Harpy, from Sierra Leone, and am thus far on my way to London, where I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you and the other trustees on Tuesday morning. I have already applied to the Admiralty for employment, therefore know not whether my stay in town will be an hour or a month;—would it not be advisable to call a general meeting of the association immediately?”

Lieutenant Beaver, having been requested by

the Bulama Association to state his opinion of the cause of the late failure, and of the probability of future success, sent in a statement, dated the 24th of June, 1794, giving his ideas concisely and clearly, concluding with the frank avowal that success might be commanded; "but when I say it might be commanded, I presuppose a greater firmness in those who go out, and more zeal and activity in those who remain at home, than has hitherto been evinced by either." This letter was read on the following day to the convened members, at the Mansion-house, on which occasion they voted their unanimous thanks to him for the ability, zeal, activity, and perseverance with which he had conducted the affairs of the settlement; and assured him they should ever hold his services in grateful remembrance. They also resolved that a gold medal be presented to him, expressive of the sense entertained by the subscribers of his very meritorious services.

The vote of thanks and promise of a gold medal, for the resolution went no further than a promise, were the only rewards Mr. Beaver reaped for two years of unparalleled exertion and suffering: he, moreover, not only lost employment and probable preferment, but also his half-pay during that period, and the six months preceding.

Neither domestic affliction, occasioned by the death of his eldest sister, that judicious sister who

had so prudently concealed from an affectionate parent the report of his death*; nor a constitution evidently injured by fatigue and climate, could check his eager desire for active employment; accordingly we find him First Lieutenant of the *Stately*, of sixty-four guns, within two months after his landing from Africa. In the interim, he had volunteered a cruize with Sir Sidney Smith; but the *Diamond* not being destined for any particular service, that distinguished officer recommended a more permanent employment, remarking, “that he could not but admire the zeal and courage evinced in the offer.”

While the *Stately* was detained in port, Mr. Beaver was present, on the 25th of September, 1794, at the marriage of his only surviving sister, Catherine, to John Gillies, LL.D., his Majesty's historiographer for Scotland; an author well known by his learned *History of Greece*, his elegant *Translation of Aristotle*, and other writings of intrinsic and acknowledged merit. In this gentleman our Lieutenant found a friend, who duly estimated his merits, and a companion whose well-stored and comprehensive mind was a constant source of improvement. The letter written by Beaver, on this occasion, proves that neither absence, nor an almost savage life, had in the least

* Mrs. Charles Smith, who died on the 18th of June, 1793.

diminished the gentle affections of his nature. "My dear Kate," says he, "I am ashamed of not having answered your last letter but one, the contents of which gave me so much real pleasure. I would write also to Dr. Gillies on the occasion, but your last having determined me to come to town, if Wednesday next will be time enough, I now think it useless. Yes, Kate, I will come to give you away; and then, though I should always remain poor, I shall have it in my power to say, that I have given away the greatest treasure of any man in Europe."

Mr. Beaver now began to keep a more detailed account of occurrences than heretofore; an act the more commendable, as the journals of commissioned officers being no longer called for, except as official papers, they are mostly copied from logboards, without any benefit of the writer's professional experience. He explains his design thus:—"As it is generally thought our destination is either against Batavia or the Cape of Good Hope, though no one, the commodore and general excepted, knows which, the following remarks are written with a view to future similar voyages. More attention will therefore be paid to hydrographic notices, and the registering of winds, currents, magnetic variations, and general health, than to chronicle the hoisting or hauling down of a staysail, the opening of a cask of pork, the drawing or knotting

of yarns, or other equally pithy records, of which a man-of-war's log is generally the depository, and from the animation of which it probably derived its name."

On the 1st of March, 1795, the *Stately*, having embarked a party of soldiers, left Portsmouth with a small squadron under Commodore Blankett. Throughout the passage, Lieutenant Beaver paid strict attention to the stowage and economy of the water. He proved that the average quantity yielded by Irvine's machine for distilling from salt water, was nearly five gallons per hour. As the tube was applied only during the hours of cooking, in order to save fuel, this produce was a mere trifle to divide amongst the crew; and the flour and oat-meal necessary for lutings, brought the expense to a penny per gallon. The water, however, was tasteless, and quite pure; and it was thought if the contrivance were fitted to cover the surface of both coppers, the produce would be sextupled. He also made a rigorous trial of White's extractor of foul air, a machine at first intended for mines, but subsequently applied to ships of war. During this voyage it was found efficacious on the second day of its being used, in removing a fetid odour, which exhaled from the bread-room scuttle, in the gun-room, notwithstanding wind-sails had been constantly kept down.

Two days after the ships made the coast of

Africa, they fell in with Sir G. K. Elphinstone's squadron, and the whole anchored in Simon's Bay on the 13th of June. The subjugation of Holland by the republicans of France was now made known, and a correspondence opened with the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, for the surrender of his charge to British protection. This being positively refused, five Dutch Indiamen at anchor were taken possession of, and the troops under General Craig disembarked, with a body of nearly five hundred seamen and marines to act in conjunction.

On the third of August, a little bush fighting took place with the Hottentots on the hills; but it was not till the 7th that any movement of consequence occurred; and then, by a judicious cannonade, the *Stately*, *America*, *Echo*, and *Rattlesnake*, drove the enemy from their entrenched camp of *Muyzenberg*, while the army, flanked by gunboats and launches, marched round to occupy it. After several attempts to retake this position, the Dutch, about the beginning of September, appeared resolutely bent on attacking with their whole force; their advance and artillery were already in motion, when suddenly a fleet of large ships was perceived entering the bay, on which they retreated. The strangers proved to be English East India Company's ships, with timely reinforcements on board, which afforded the means of immediately

undertaking offensive operations. Four ships were ordered round to make a diversion in Table Bay, while our army moved upon the strong post of Wynburg; and in this advance Lieutenant Beaver was singularly active, with a party of the Stately's seamen, in transporting ammunition and stores. On the 13th, the enemy made a show of resistance, but being threatened on both flanks, they retired on our approach. The Governor, alarmed by the broadsides of the ships off Cape Town, and seeing that resistance was fruitless, proposed a cessation of arms. The consequent articles of capitulation were soon signed, and on the dawn of the 16th, the Dutch hoisted their colours, fired a solitary shot towards Commodore Blankett, and lowered them again; our soldiers then entered, and thus gained one of the fairest colonies belonging to the enemy.

Shortly after this successful event, the Stately and Victorious were despatched to India, where they joined the forces destined to act against Columbo, the only possession then under the Dutch in Ceylon. The service being completed by the reduction of that place, the Stately was ordered off the Isle of France on a cruize.

Mr. Beaver, for some months past, had not found himself quite so comfortable as he could have desired; for zeal in a junior officer is not

always a passport to applause: he determined, therefore, to quit the ship on the first favourable opportunity. Still no actual rupture broke forth between him and his commander, Billy Douglas; though it appears that something about this time gave him umbrage, as he notes,—“The captain wishes to make his son first lieutenant!—strange that he should not know me better.”

Having made the island of Rodriguez, our officer was sent on shore for intelligence, and found a wretched Luconian sailor, who had been cast away in a schooner, which had captured the Triton East Indiaman. From this man they procured such information, that, on the 25th of May, 1796, they intercepted one of the frigates which had been sent by the National Assembly in search of the unfortunate Peronse, but now under Dutch colours, and richly laden with the spices of Molucca. Four days afterwards, the Carolina, consort of the former, and also from Súrabáya, fell into their hands; but a third ship, of which they had been apprized, they never met with; and she was supposed to have been wrecked on the Pater-nosters, and totally lost.

While cruizing in this vicinity, on the 23rd of June, the ship was suddenly caught in a hard squall. “From the time,” says the journal, “that a few black clouds began to rise on the lee bow,

till we were taken a-back, was only eight minutes. It had been the opinion of the captain, and the officer of the watch, that the gust would pass to leeward a-head without nearing us; and the moment it seemed to be dying away the main clue garnets were manned, but we were all a-back before a tack was started. Fortunately for us, the principal fury was two or three cables' length distant, where the sea, with the most confused motion imaginable, breaking in all directions, seemed to ascend to the heavens, and displayed, without the least exaggeration, one of the most tremendous, sublime, and awful scenes ever beheld. If I could compare the motion and agitation of the waters to anything which I have seen in nature, I should say that it resembled the collection of a thousand water-spouts into the space of a mile square. And I firmly believe that if any single-decked ship, or probably if a line-of-battle ship had found herself in its vortex, without her hatches well battened, she would have been dismasted, swamped, and sunk."

By the beginning of July the scurvy had made its appearance, on which the ships repaired to Madagascar for wood, water, and refreshments. The sick, as is usual with this complaint, recovered with surprising rapidity, and, by the 21st, were all ready for sea again.

The log-book contains the following remarks on the natives of St. Augustine's. "A man came on board, called Prince William. He lives a little way up the river of this bay, and is the head man; his authority being derived from the King of Baba. It is necessary, before procuring any cattle, to have an interview with his highness, and to pay him the customary duty. We gave him two muskets, a barrel of powder, one hundred flints, and one hundred bullets; besides which he was saluted with seven guns on his leaving the ship: in return, he sends a bullock or two, and then the natives are at liberty to barter their fruits and cattle for European commodities. Two or three days after our arrival, a fellow, named Tom Bush, who is called purser to the King of Baba, came on board and demanded similar presents for his master: with him came half a dozen princes and dukes, whose several demands were to be satisfied only by a present of a musket to each. The next business of Tom Bush, in conjunction with Prince William, was to fix the size of the standard measure for trade, and three measures of gunpowder, whatever be the size agreed upon, are always allotted to the purchase of a bullock: sheep, poultry, fruit, and all other procurable luxuries, are subservient to the same scale. These preliminaries being arranged, there was no further difficulty;

but as we received either a bullock, a cow, or a calf, from every person who had been complimented with a present, we were enabled to supply the ship's company till the day of our sailing, when we bought four head of cattle with powder.

“At the Tent Rock, a man called Tom Planter seems to have the most consequence; he was to us the most useful fellow in the bay. He is singularly ugly, and has only one eye, with which, however, he can see farther, in a worldly point of view, than any of his countrymen can with two. Most of the natives speak English, and many of them French; and in their language they have incorporated many Portuguese words. They are remarkably attached to the English, and singularly averse to the Portuguese; their well-grounded aversion having arisen from the nefarious practice of carrying off such of the simple and credulous people as, trusting to Lusitanian faith, have put themselves into their power, by venturing on board their ships. Though generally armed with a musket, or spear, or both, they seem indolent and inoffensive, if we except their addiction to theft. The men are stout, well limbed, and manly in their features; but the women appear rather undersized, though well proportioned and tolerably handsome. Of modesty, however, these people can have no idea, when we consider the singularly brutal and abo-

minable prostitution of their wives ; and of tenderness as little, when we reflect that every child, the offspring of this promiscuous intercourse, not born perfectly black, is put to death the moment after its birth.”

Having recruited the health of their crews, the *Stately*, *Rattlesnake*, and *Echo*, sailed for the Cape of Good Hope ; and on the 10th of August perceived the squadron of Sir G. K. Elphinstone, beating off *Agulhas*, in a hard gale of wind, with a high sea. Two hours after having joined, the *Stately* being on the starboard tack, under close reefed topsails and foresail, was so suddenly and furiously assailed by a violent squall, as to be thrown nearly on her beam ends, with rapid stern way, and all her sails flying in ribands. In this dilemma, the admirable conduct of Mr. Beaver, who, from the indisposition of the captain, was carrying on the deck duty, excited the applause of all the squadron. While many of the spectators considered her as lost, she was righted, wore, and rounded to on the other tack, with seaman-like precision ; and was soon after near her station, under a new foresail and balanced mizen. This smart evolution attracted the particular attention of the Admiral, who had already noticed our officer's exertions at *Muyzenburg* ; and thus, honourably to both, commenced an acquaintance which ripened

into esteem and friendship, and was terminated only by death.

“ Congenial passions souls together bind,
And ev’ry calling mingles with its kind ;
Soldier unites with soldier, swain with swain,
The mariner with him that roves the main.”

It appeared that the Batavian government had fitted out an armament to recover the Cape ; and it had already been seen from the shore : heavy gales had however retarded the pursuit, and the anxious Admiral, unable to discover their probable route, now returned to the anchorage off Simon’s Town. Here, being apprized that the enemy had entered Saldanha Bay, he weighed again, though the gale was still raging with such force, that the Crescent ran on shore, and the Tremendous, after parting from two cables, was driven under the north battery, where she fortunately brought up. By dint of unceasing exertion, the British fleet was enabled to anchor, with springs on their cables, within gunshot of the inferior one of the enemy, on the 16th, just as General Craig and his soldiers were seen descending from the heights to occupy the shore. In this position Sir George despatched a flag of truce to the Dutch Admiral, demanding his immediate surrender, in order to avoid an unnecessary effusion of blood. The latter, seeing no chance of success by resistance, called a council of war, and,

after a little deliberation, delivered up his ships on the following day. The prizes consisted of three sail of the line, four frigates, a sloop of war, and a storeship, all well fitted, stored, and completely coppered; and the only opposition which had been made, was an ineffectual fire from the *Bellona* on our troops, as they were advancing.

Though this gratifying event was accomplished without other exertion than judicious demonstrations of force, the spirit of Mr. Beaver had been displayed in constructing a very useful plan of the position which was occupied by the two squadrons, with the exact distances of the several ships from each other. Sir G. K. Elphinstone, gratified by such repeated proofs of merit, now treated him with marked attention, and removed him into his flag-ship, the *Monarch*, the same in which our officer commenced his maritime career. It was consequently highly pleasing to him to command on that quarter-deck which he had so often walked as the youngster of the watch.

All fears for the safety of the Cape having now subsided, Sir George quitted the station, and returning homewards, was driven by severe weather into Crookhaven, on the coast of Ireland, on the 23d of December, with a single vessel, the *Daphne*, in company. They had scarcely anchored, before several gentlemen came on board with intelligence,

that a numerous French fleet had been seen the day before off Bantry Bay; and that sixteen of the weathermost ships had already brought up between Sheep's Head and Bear Island. Strong easterly winds rendered every effort to get to sea unavailing, and the *Daphne* was nearly lost in the attempt; they were, therefore, obliged to remain some days at anchor, near the invading enemy. On the 27th the gale increased, and blew furiously from the E. S. E.; many guns were fired by the French, and in the morning it was perceived that they had driven into the offing, where several of the ships appeared to be in distress. A large frigate was wrecked in Barley Cove, about three miles from the *Monarch*, and seven men, rescued by Mr. Beaver, were the only survivors. She left France for the invasion of Ireland, with three hundred seamen, and two hundred and sixty soldiers, on board; on her striking the rocks, the former hoisted out the boats, and, with true "French fraternity," barbarously beat out the brains of all the latter who attempted to enter them. Neither would they admit any of their officers, through whose folly they exclaimed the ship was lost; while thus deliberately guilty of such atrocious murder, these wretches were compelled to surrender their own lives, a dreadful instance of the savage depravity engendered by a total want of order, discipline, and religious obligation.

Returning to England, in the situation of first Lieutenant of Lord Keith's flag ship, Mr. Beaver's promotion was deemed certain; especially from the nature of the services in which he had been engaged. His eager hopes, however, were frustrated, in consequence, it was hinted, of his lordship's having some coolness with the Admiralty. This disappointment was the greater, as he used to say, that "he would not give a pin to be made an admiral after fifty."

On the 15th of April, 1797, the first symptoms of that disgraceful event were disclosed, which every officer of high feelings and strict notions of naval discipline must ever deplore, a mutiny—a mutiny in the British navy!!! Any periodical publication will tell the proceedings of that most reprehensible occurrence. But I decline it, and hasten to record an instance of respect of those misguided men towards their superiors, as a proof that the flagitious principles of insubordination, though widely disseminated, were not deeply rooted. By an order of the delegates, no letters were to go out of any ship without being first inspected by them; and on Mr. Beaver's asking, whether they intended to read his, he was answered, "No, Sir, by no means; we well know that officers will not make things worse than they are." "Indeed," continues Beaver, "except in one ship only,

all hands throughout this astounding transgression have conducted themselves with a degree of decency and moderation, which could scarcely have been expected in so daring an assumption of illegal power. I had always a hearty regard for British tars, but I shall now like the character better than ever. Their delegates have adopted a most desperate measure to obtain, what they call, ‘a redress of grievances,’ and one which I apprehend will for some time affect our naval discipline; but they profess neither liberty nor equality, nor do they join in the sentimental hue and cry, that men are to be ruled without reins. What a contrast to the recent revolutionary excesses of France!”

Mr. Beaver remained with the grand fleet, and displayed great professional skill in naval evolutions, of which a proof exists in some proposed alterations for forming the line, under different exigencies, which he drew up at the request of Captain Elphinstone.

In June, 1798, a circumstance occurred, while he was serving as first lieutenant of the *Formidable*, which gave him much uneasiness at the moment, but which is only mentioned here, to preserve that impartiality which is so essential in biography; and to dispel any surmise, if it be possible that any can exist, of his mind’s having ever deviated from the paths of rectitude. He was accused by the

Secretary of the General Post office, “of having written his name on the superscription of his own letter, with a view that it might pass at a reduced rate of postage, as a seaman’s letter.” An examination was consequently taken before Admiral Sir C. Thompson, and he was instantly acquitted; and well he might, for, independently of his own stern regard to the strictest principles of truth and honesty, it appeared that neither the initials nor the name corresponded with his own, his name being *Philip Beaver*, and that of the person who actually wrote the letter in question was *Robert Bloye*; the initials at the bottom being *R. B.*, and not *P. B.* Such is the caution necessary in a public accusation, and such the possibility of error, even in a department which is justly praised for its general correctness.

It may, however, be proper to record his own manly sentiments upon this occasion. Being rallied by a relation, upon the warmth with which he every where repelled this unmerited allegation, and that so serious a defence, upon so slight a charge, might be thought, by illiberal persons, to partake of the mock heroic, he properly answered, “No man can be too careful of character; such an accusation might have been whispered at a future time, but its utter falsehood is now placed on record.”

Lord Keith being appointed to command on the Mediterranean station, applied for Mr. Beaver to

resume his old situation on board the *Foudroyant*, for he had now become noted as the best first lieutenant in the service. From some cause or other, not explained, but resulting perhaps from the late mutiny, he found that ship in such a state of insubordination, that three days after joining her, he writes—"What confusion every where! one would suppose that we were manned from the *Glory*; last night we had all but lost the ship—this will never do." Soon afterwards he exclaims, "Are the officers going to copy the men? We have here so many for promotion, that few are left for plain duty; we had just now nearly run over a brig, but where from, or whither bound, the Lord knows—a pretty look out for a smart ship."

It should be here premised, that this captious tone might rise, in some measure, from the view which the writer, as a first lieutenant selected expressly to carry on all the detail duties, took of the state of the ship. Indeed, it must be candidly admitted, that with a zeal sometimes bordering upon heat, his rigidly exact notions did not always quadrature with those of his messmates. He took umbrage at an apparent levity, not unusual in a flag ship, where youths of powerful interest are brought together rather to accept than to earn commissions; and having determined to act up to what he considered the punctilio of service, he

brought Lord Cochrane, despite of his influence with the Commander-in-chief, to a court martial, for failing in personal respect towards him. The frivolity of excessive nicety about scrubbing decks, squaring yards, burnishing arms, polishing stanchions, flying kites, and reefing to a second of time, he despised, and perhaps justly; but he deemed every breach of official decorum too dangerous an inroad upon our truly Spartan system of discipline, to be overlooked.

On their arrival off Cadiz the flag was removed into the *Barfleur*, a change greatly to the satisfaction of our officer, as he found her in a higher state of regulation than he could hope to have got the *Foudroyant* into for some time. While watching the Spanish fleet, the Brest division, under Bruix, were seen steering in for the land on the 4th of May, 1799. The weather was very squally and hazy. "There we were," it is Beaver who speaks, "with the Spaniards on one side and the French on the other; but we had a compact and well-disciplined force, with which, though less than a third in number of the enemies' on either hand, the admiral instantly offered battle." A furious gale scattered both fleets in the night, so that at day-break on the 5th, only four sail of the French were to be seen: chase was immediately given, but the wind and sea being dead on

the shore, the pursuit was ineffectual. Indeed the preservation of his ships became an object of peculiar solicitude to the commander-in-chief,—with an enemy's lee shore on one hand, and the force of the Atlantic ocean on the other : —

“ Some monstrous billow now the vessel heaves,
Which seems a moment to surmount the waves ;
When the wild prospect, far as sight may roam,
Is raging mountains interspersed with foam.”

Lord Keith joined the Queen Charlotte on the 13th of June, and on the 19th the squadron captured three French frigates and two corvettes under the command of Rear-admiral Perré, as they were returning from a cruize on the coast of Syria. Beaver was now selected to carry these ships into Port Mahon ; on the accomplishment of which he was advanced to command the Dolphin, of forty-four guns. Those only who have toiled through the service, can estimate the feeling with which this important step of promotion is received ; nor was it the less acceptable to our officer from the hand of his friendly patron.

Captain Beaver commanded the Dolphin about two months, and then left her to join the Aurora, a frigate armed “ en flute.” In this ship he remained from the 13th of September until the 6th of March, 1800, when, being pressed by the admiral to return to him for a specified service,

he embarked on board the *Phoenix* for that purpose. On the passage to Leghorn, the *Mutine* met them with the distressing tidings of the destruction of the noble *Queen Charlotte* by fire; in which dreadful calamity, he with anguish heard that six hundred and seventy-three of his late shipmates had perished! Some of his friends considered his absence at this moment to have been a fortunate escape; but others, well acquainted with the circumstances, thought that, had he been present, the accident would not have occurred, because he never permitted hay to be pressed on board: a practice to which her loss was generally attributed.

About a week after this melancholy disaster we find our hero complimented by Lord Keith in the following general order:—"Having judged it necessary to call upon Philip Beaver, Esq., Commander of his Majesty's prison-ship *Aurora*, to assist me in the detailed duties of the command, the respective captains and commanders are hereby required to pay the same attention to the orders, directions, and memorandums, issued in my name, as if they proceeded immediately from myself." This unprecedented appointment of a junior officer, as assistant-captain to the Mediterranean fleet, a situation equal to that of a rear-admiral, excited a little jealousy; but few were equal to the wear-

some minutiae of its complicated arrangement, and as no objection could be made to the skilful and zealous execution of it, such prejudices soon died away.

At this moment Captain Beaver addressed an energetic letter to one of his old and favorite messmates, abounding with such valuable strictures on personal conduct, that it is to be regretted motives of delicacy forbid the full insertion of it. He apprizes him of its being generally whispered, that he drank and slept during his watch, and adds most friendly hints of the danger and ruin attendant upon such misconduct. "Say not," he exclaims, "'you don't care,' for one of the strongest proofs of the inward monitor being off duty, is a disregard to the opinion of your companions. You have been well educated, and pride yourself on your acquirements;—but remember, if you permit such vices to sap them, your boasted talents only become as gay colours upon a reptile. If you think my comments free, pray, on the score of friendship, forgive them; if they prove disagreeable, commit them to the flames; but the motives with which I act, must be accepted as sufficient justification for the intrusion."

In April, Captain Beaver was intrusted with an arduous and honourable service—no less than the bombardment of the magnificent city of Genoa,

which was occupied by Massena with twenty-four thousand French troops, the residue of the famous army with which Buonaparte had overrun Italy. A powerful Austrian force, under Melas, having advanced simultaneously along the shores, partly protected by British broadsides, the enemy was now besieged by sea and land. The judicious measures of our officer, with the fury of his fire, excited the greatest consternation in the city, and gave our allies, on the hills, the most animating courage, in the continual skirmishes which took place. Indeed, the scene has been described as beautifully terrific; for the palaces rising gradually from the sea beach, were rendered awfully visible by the explosions of the shells, and the flames of the vessels burnt in the harbour:—

“ Huge piles of smoke in curling volumes rise,
Obscure the seas, and darken all the skies;
Save where the flash illumines the sevring cloud,
Gleams round the mast, or quivers through the shroud.
Now through the gloom some stately vessel rears,
Now half disclosed her painted form appears;
There crash the stayless masts, and strew the deck,
And leave the shatter'd hull a helpless wreck.”

A very brilliant exploit, performed by Captain Beaver on the night of the 21st of May, is thus described by his commander-in-chief:—“ By private intelligence from Genoa, I understood the

French had resolved on boarding our flotilla in any future attempt to bombard the town ; and yesterday, about twelve o'clock, a very large galley, a cutter, three armed settees, and several gun-boats, appeared in array off the Mole-head, and in the course of the afternoon exchanged distant shot with some of the ships as they passed them. At sun-set they took a position under the guns of the moles and the city bastions, which were covered with men manifesting a determined resistance. I nevertheless arranged every thing for a fourth bombardment, as formerly, under the direction of Captain Philip Beaver, of the Aurora, who left the Minotaur at nine P.M., attended by the gun and mortar vessels and the armed boats of the ships. About one o'clock, being arrived at a proper distance for commencing his fire, a brisk cannonade was opened upon the town, which was returned from various parts ; and Captain Beaver having discovered, by the flashes of some guns, that they were directed from something nearly level with the water, judiciously concluded that they proceeded from some of the enemy's armed vessels. Calling a detachment of the ships' boats to his assistance, he made directly to the spot, and, in a most gallant and spirited manner, under a smart fire of cannon and musketry from the moles and enemy's armed vessels, attacked,

boarded, carried, and brought off their largest galley, *La Prima*, of fifty oars and two hundred and fifty-seven men, armed, besides muskets, pistols, cutlasses, &c., with two brass guns of thirty-six pounds, having about thirty brass swivels in her hold, and commanded by Captain Patrizio Galleano. The bombardment suffered no material interruption, but was continued till day-light this morning, when the *Prima* was safely brought off: her extreme length is one hundred and fifty-nine feet, and her breadth twenty-three feet six inches. On our part four seamen only have been wounded; one belonging to this ship, in the boat with Captain Beaver; one belonging to the *Pallas*; and the other two to the *Haerlem*. The enemy's loss is not exactly known; but one man was found dead on board, and fifteen wounded. The satisfaction which I derive from considering the zeal, activity, and gallantry with which this service has been performed, is greatly augmented by the flattering testimony borne by Captain Beaver to the good conduct of the officers and seamen who acted with him on this occasion."

The detachment with which Captain Beaver attacked *La Prima*, consisted of ten boats, containing, between them, about one hundred officers and men. While these were proceeding, with all possible silence, hoping to approach undiscovered

in the prevailing darkness, a Genoese gun-vessel, stationed between the two mole-heads, opened her fire upon them. Every moment's delay now adding to the danger, the boats dashed on towards their object. On arriving alongside, a new obstacle presented itself: the gangway or gunwale of the galley projected three feet and upwards from the side of the hull, and was strengthened by a strong barricade, along the summit of which the brass swivels mentioned by Lord Keith were occasionally mounted. As an additional obstruction to the British, her oars were fixed in their places ready for use; with the looms secured to the benches, or thwarts. Thus, with a crew of two hundred and fifty-seven men, exclusive of the galley-slaves on board, *La Prima*, even had she not been guarded by numerous batteries, would have been a formidable object of attack. All this, however, was of no avail. The first entrance was made amid-ships on the starboard side, in the most courageous manner, by a boat of the *Haerlem*, under the command of Mr. John Caldwell, midshipman, who was promptly seconded by three other pinnaces. In the mean time the crews of the *Minatour's* cutter, and *Vestal's* launch, gallantly led by *Beaver*, and supported by the remaining boats, had clambered up the images on the quarter to carry the poop, where a considerable number of

French troops had assembled. After a desperate struggle, hand to hand, our captain and his brave tars succeeded in their attempt; the greater part of their opponents jumping overboard on one side as they secured a footing on the other. Almost immediately afterwards a burgee, or broad triangular pendant, the only flag flying on board *La Prima*, was hauled down by Lieutenant Gibson, and all further resistance ceased. The boats were immediately ordered a-head to tow; and the slaves, with seeming cheerfulness, manned their sweeps, crying out, in broken English, "Got bless de King of Gibbelterra!"

La Prima was quickly cleared from the chains by which she had been moored to the mole, and began moving towards the entrance of the harbour, under a tremendous fire of shot, shell, and musketry; the latter from a numerous body of troops, which were drawn up on the mole-head, round which she passed within ten yards, sustaining no greater loss than what has been mentioned already. Captain Beaver quitted her soon after, in order to acquaint Lord Keith with his success, and the command devolved on Lieutenant Gibson. Before she had got quite out of gun-shot, an alarm was raised of fire below: Mr. Gibson instantly rushed down, and found a half-drunken Genoese, with a light and a crow-bar, in the act of breaking open

the door of the powder magazine, for the purpose, as he unhesitatingly declared, of blowing up the vessel! Had the wretch succeeded in his diabolical attempt, between four and five hundred persons might have perished. Not being a vessel adapted for the British navy, the prize was sold to the Sardinians, for the comparatively small sum of fifteen thousand dollars.

Botta, the Italian historian, draws a frightful picture of the calamities which befel Genoa during this siege. Even before the last extremities arrived, a pound of rice sold for five shillings, and a pound of flour for eight. Afterwards beans were sold for a penny each, and a biscuit of three ounces weight, when procurable, for ten shillings. A little cheese, and a few vegetables, were the only nourishment given to the sick and wounded in the hospitals. Men and women, in the last agonies of despair, filled the air with their groans and shrieks. Sometimes, while uttering these dreadful cries, they strove with furious hands to tear out their ravening entrails, and fell dead in the streets. Children, left by the death of their parents in utter destitution, with mournful gestures, and tears, and heart-broken accents, implored the passing stranger; but none either pitied them, or aided them; the excess of his own anguish extinguishing in each man's breast compassion for the misery of

others. But cruel and horrible beyond all description was the spectacle presented by the Austrian prisoners of war, confined in certain old vessels, anchored in the port; for such was the dire necessity at last, that for some days they were left without nutriment of any description! They ate their shoes, they devoured the leather of their pouches, and, scowling darkly at each other, their sinister glances betrayed the horrid fear of being at last reduced to a revolting resource. In the end their French guards were removed, under the apprehension that they might be made the sacrifice of ravening hunger: so great, at last, was their desperation, that they endeavoured to scuttle their floating prisons, in order to sink them; preferring to perish thus, rather than any longer endure the tortures of famine. As commonly happens, a mortal pestilence was added to the ravages of dearth; malignant fevers carried off crowds from the public hospitals, the lowly hovels of the poor, and the superb palaces of the rich. "Such," adds Botta, "was the state of the once potent and joyous Genoa; and the bitterest thought of all was, that her present sufferings could conduce nothing to her future good, either as to her liberty or her independence."

The French army, being thus in absolute starva-

tion, and their distress heightened to horror, by the lamentable clamours of the famishing inhabitants, and the terrors of bombardment, they were obliged, in the beginning of June, to accept of a capitulation. Captain Beaver was selected to treat on the part of the English, under another flattering proof of Lord Keith's unlimited confidence. "Lest any difficulty," says his lordship, "should be started in your conferences with the French officers, who may be appointed by Marshal Massena, respecting your want of authority, I hereby empower you to conclude the negotiation in my name, knowing that you are in full possession of my sentiments and intentions, and fully confiding in your fidelity and integrity. And I shall ratify, without delay, all the articles to which, in conjunction with his Excellency Lieutenant-General Baron d'Ott, you may accede."

Little has transpired as to the discussions of this negotiation; but it appears that the arrogant style of the republicans was well met by the manly decision of Beaver. A French account remarks, that "the English Captain, Bivera, answered, *non! non!* to every thing; the Austrian general was more polite." Massena was most urgent to retain some small craft, for "having taken all our ships," said he, "a few boats are beneath your notice."

It seems that Lord Keith afterwards softened Captain Beaver's "*no*," and that Massena used these very boats to smuggle away his plunder.

Our officer's anxious services were now rewarded by being made the bearer of the dispatches ; and we may reasonably imagine that, after the successful issue of such a series of important events, so implicitly confided to his direction, the prospects he drew of futurity were tinted with the brightest hues ; but, alas, how short-sighted is man, and how evanescent is the glow of public life ? Even his mission to England, which was intended as an honour, unluckily proved of little use to him. Captain Beaver landed at Leghorn, and, although he exerted all possible expedition across the continent, the necessary detour to avoid the French armies, in his route to Cuxhaven, gave time, not only for the fatal battle of Marengo to be fought, but also for the account of it to reach England before him. Arriving at the Admiralty, exhausted with fatigue, he found his dispatches were of no importance, as government could not even announce the capture of a place, known to be again in the hands of the enemy. This was not the worst, for he returned to Lord Keith, without either his expected post commission, or the gift usual on such occasions. Happy the country, and noble the profes-

sion, possessing men, whom such chilling coldness does not alienate from either !

“ Heav'n gave thee courage, not with impious rage
T' oppress thy friends, and civil combats wage ;
But that thy soul with noble warmth might glow,
In fields of fight against the common foe.”

The disappointed officer remained only a few days in town, and by the 5th of July, being exactly one month from his leaving Genoa, was on board the *Endymion*, for his passage out. Confidence in his own exertions, and reliance on the Admiral's patronage, fully persuaded him of future success ; and he, therefore, on his arrival at Gibraltar, was immediately united to a young lady, to whom he had previously pledged his love. This happy event he thus announced to his mother, from Minorca : “ I arrived here two days ago, and occupy my former situation of assistant Captain of the Squadron. In my way up, I was detained a fortnight at Gibraltar, and took one of the most important steps of my life. I was engaged to be married there, before I joined Lord Keith the last time ; and you will, perhaps, be displeased at my not having made you acquainted with my intention before I left England. But I had made up my mind on the subject, and knew your anxiety for my happiness would, on your part, produce diffi-

culties, which I could not give way to. I fulfilled my engagement, in doing which I sought happiness, and trust I shall not be disappointed. Her name was Elliott, the daughter of an officer in the navy, and sister of another.”

We next find Captain Beaver before Cadiz, whence he writes on the 7th of October,—“ we anchored off this place with a numerous fleet, and a very formidable army, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie; and the appearance of upwards of one hundred and fifty sail of ships struck the dons with alarm. I have been over head and ears in planning operations, but we have, however, this day given up every idea of landing, after having had the first division of the troops actually in the boats. Independent of the objection which a dreadful malady, called by some the plague, and by others the yellow fever, opposed to our disembarking, the late season of the year, the danger of the coast, and the difficulty of communication between the soldiers and sailors, were deemed sufficient by the two commanders in chief, to relinquish the attempt. After Ferrol and Vigo, I suppose this will not be relished at home. We are about running back to Tetuan bay, where, I trust, future operations will be planned, more conducive to the honour and benefit of our country.”

It may be hoped that there was one more reason

for abandoning this enterprise, and that the manly and interesting appeal of de Morla, the Governor, excited a generous sympathy in the breasts of the British. “The affliction,” says he, “which carries off, in this city and its environs, thousands of victims, and which threatens not to suspend its ravages till it has cut off all who have hitherto escaped, being calculated to excite compassion, it is with surprise that I see the squadron under the command of your Excellency come to augment the consternation of the inhabitants. I have too exalted an opinion of the humanity of the English people, and of yours in particular, to think that you would wish to render our condition more deplorable. However, if in consequence of the orders you have received, you are inclined to draw down upon yourself the execration of all nations, to cover yourself with disgrace in the eyes of the whole universe, by oppressing the unfortunate, and attacking those who are supposed to be incapable of defence, I declare to you, that the garrison under my orders, accustomed to behold death with a serene countenance, and to brave dangers much greater than all the perils of war, know how to make resistance, which shall not terminate but with their entire destruction. I hope that the answer of your Excellency will inform me, whether I am to speak the language of consolation to the unfortunate in-

habitants, or whether I am to rouse them to indignation and revenge."

Fresh ardour was added to Captain Beaver's zeal, by being appointed to command the flag ship, with post rank; and the patriotic wish expressed in his letter from Cadiz, was now gratified, by an expedition to expel the French from Egypt.

The armament left Malta on the 21st of October, intending to tarry at Rhodes, or Makri, for the gun-boats, horses, and forces, promised on the part of the Porte; but the tempestuous weather rendered both those places unfit for so large a fleet. Fortunately, in this dilemma, a note from Sir Sidney Smith informed them of Marmoritsa, a superb harbour between those two, capable of receiving all the navies of Europe. To this place, till then unknown to modern navigation, they steered; but so narrow was the entrance, that it could scarcely be distinguished till the ships were actually running in. This was a moment of awful suspense—the scene was magnificent from its mountainous nature, and grandeur of scale; whilst a hundred vessels under sail, amidst heavy squalls, and deafening peals of thunder, imparted an indescribable degree of interest.

"This port really proved a God-send," says the Captain in a letter of the 22d of February, 1801; "and the speedy transition from a heavy-rolling sea, to water as smooth as a mill-pond, gave a

gladness to the harassed troops, which it is difficult to conceive. We have since had abundance of leisure to rehearse our intended landing, for it was not till the middle of January that the promised Turkish supplies arrived; and you will imagine our vexation on finding absolutely nothing to hope from their co-operation. Their ships are disorderly; their gun-boats are in want of repairs and stores; and worse than all, the horses which we have been so long waiting for, are particularly unfit for use: our poor dragoons groaned dismally, when they saw such pitiful Rosinantes provided for them. We have, in consequence, lost much valuable time, and I suppose the enemy gets intelligence of our motions, for we are at no great distance from Egypt. In the interim, I have had an opportunity of brushing up the old Foudroyant, and I trust it is acknowledged she is no longer a privateer.

“ On the 10th of this month we were visited by a tremendous gale from the S.E., the violent gusts of which gave us full reason to be thankful that we were in such a place as Marmaris; for during two days it was almost one continued hail-storm, and fragments, the size of bullets, kept up a spray over the whole harbour. The fleet now amounted to upwards of a hundred and eighty sail, and yet, with the exception of the Victorieuse losing her fore-mast and bowsprit, the Vestal her mizen-mast,

and the Cruelle her bowsprit, none of the-men-of-war have sustained any damage. Several, indeed, parted, and a few drove, while some transports and small craft ran on the beach; but the event afforded an admirable proof of the unrivalled excellence of the anchorage. The heroic Sir Sidney Smith, who, from his local knowledge of the Levant, is a valuable addition to our armament, having joined us in the Tigre, we are all now under weigh, and in anticipation of immediate success."

A tempestuous passage of a week brought the fleet within sight of Alexandria; and by noon of the 2d of March, they were all at anchor in Abookeer Bay, Nelson's late scene of incomparable glory. The weather continued so squally, that, for some days, nothing could be attempted, and the enemy was thereby afforded sufficient time to fortify the coast. Meanwhile Captain Beaver, in whom full confidence was reposed by both the commanders, was incessantly employed in shifting the soldiers from the men-of-war, into polacres, and other craft, in-shore; and in arranging the preparations for the intended disembarkation.

At length, on the 8th of March, the wind having subsided, the decisive movement was made. "At two o'clock in the morn," says our gallant officer, "the signal was made for the troops to prepare to land, and, at three, for them to put off, and go to the

appointed rendezvous. At daylight but few boats had arrived; they were, however, mostly coming up; I did my utmost to second the wishes of Sir Ralph, but it was not till after eight that they were arranged in tolerable order. A signal was now thrown out for the whole to advance, while the Tartarus and Fury bombs, with all the covering vessels, began throwing shells and shot, to discompose the enemy, and draw their fire from the troops in the boats. This, however, was in vain, for the French, who occupied the whole front shore with field-pieces, flanked by a castle on the right, and a very heavy gun on the left, kept up a furious fire. Our lads moved admirably in a compact, awful, and formidable line, direct to the object; but a worse place for the attempt could scarcely have been chosen—instead of the margin of a flat plain, as expected, the beach was under a steep hill, bristled with artillery. The opposing cavalry, which did not appear to be numerous, were in constant motion; and from the time that the boats were within half a mile of the shore, till the landing was effected, at about five minutes after nine o'clock, the enemy's fire was so animated and galling, that the sea was literally covered with spray, from the shot of their incessant discharges. Many a fine fellow breathed his last while cheering for his country's glory!

“Our centre and right leaped on shore, and forming, with great rapidity, marched briskly up the sand-hills with apparently but little opposition. The left, however, was vigorously attacked while getting out of the boats, and never did form or show front to the enemy; but they sustained a close action for a quarter of an hour with cool gallantry, and cut off the cavalry to a man. Still they must have given way, had it not been for a column from our centre, which wheeled to their support. The French, from that moment, began to retire along the border of the lake, and never after kept their ground, except for a few minutes, behind a bush, or a sand hill, till they were completely out of sight. Meantime we rowed from point to point, endeavouring to render succour; and at eleven o’clock, having sent most of the wounded to the hospital-ships, I returned with the Admiral to the Foudroyant.

“A considerable degree of firmness and spirit,” continues the captain, “was displayed on both sides in this contest; we, however, landed at a very injudicious spot; and the French general, I think, wanted judgment. His artillery was planted skilfully, and well served; but, when the boats were within sixty yards of the shore, he should have marched down his whole force, and, from high-water mark, opposed the disembarking. Had

this been done with the requisite nerve, he would, in my opinion, have defeated us; and it certainly was the only chance he had of rendering our attempt abortive, for when did Britons care for grape shot?"

Without entering minutely into the well-known details of this expedition, it may suffice to notice, that Captain Beaver had so diligently arranged the naval communications, as to draw from Sir Ralph Abercrombie the remark, that "all his wants were anticipated as if by magic." But some departments of supply were not under his control, and the consequences nearly proved fatal. "On the 21st of March," he writes, "a little before daylight, the French made an attack on our lines with their whole force. The principal effort was directed against a flèche thrown up in front of our right wing, where they even penetrated into the rear; but the steady and determined valour of our excellent soldiers frustrated every attempt, and they were finally driven back with immense loss. The proud Invincibles marched to the charge nine hundred strong, but of this boasted legion not one returned, nearly seven hundred being bayoneted in a ruin, and the rest taken prisoners. This battle was fought under two very extraordinary circumstances: the British were for a long time without ammunition, even so

much so as to be reduced to throw stones; and the French, incredible as it may seem, were all drunk! Now, had the latter been cool and sober, they must have defeated us, for they had the advantage of choosing the point of attack with their whole strength; and, on the other hand, if the English had been properly supplied, they must have cut the enemy to pieces."

In the afternoon, General Abercrombie was conveyed on board the *Foudroyant*, mortally wounded. The deepest solicitude was manifested, by all ranks, on this distressing event; and in the evening Beaver received a note from General Moore, earnestly requesting his opinion:—"Independently of my own anxiety," says he, "to know how Sir Ralph is, I am led to trouble you, at the desire of Colonel Abercrombie. General Oakes, and myself, have just arrived on board the *Diadem*; our wounds, both in the leg, are not very bad, but such as to disable us for some days from our duty, and we thought it gave us a better chance of speedy recovery to come here, than to remain where we were, useless on shore. The business of this day has fairly proved the superiority of our troops over the French; and their loss is very great. The contest was so severe, that little of the humanity, which mitigates the usual horrors of warfare, was shewn. Besides those wounded, three

of their generals were killed outright. Letters found in the field, from Menou, to one of them, prove that their whole force is now concentrated ; and they contain other curious matter, amongst which we see an order to ‘beat us, and bundle us into the sea.’ General Hutchinson is preparing for another attack, and each brigade is employed in fortifying its own front. Guns and ammunition, of which we were so woefully in want this morning, are forwarding ; and if the foes venture again, it is to be hoped they will suffer at least as much as they did to-day. Have the goodness to remember me kindly to Sir Ralph, to whom some of these particulars may be interesting.”

Two days after this battle, Beaver was despatched to examine the approaches to Rosetta, by the lakes, and establish a garrison in the karavansera : his orders on the occasion being accompanied by a considerate hint from the admiral—“*Be cautious.*” This intimation of danger was corroborated, on the 26th of March, by the following communication from Sir Sidney Smith :—“I heard yesterday, from Lord Keith, that you were windbound at the Maison quarrée, and that you had been reconnoitred ; if so, I conceive it probable you may be attacked and obliged to retire ; I therefore send Hillyar with five flat-bottomed boats, to get as near as possible to your rear, and either supply

support, or bring you off. I also despatch a party of two hundred Turks, with a piece of cannon, to protect the village of Edkô, which has been menaced by the French for having had intercourse with you. The Ottoman fleet is here, and I must procure lemons from somewhere, to afford the usual refreshment to the numerous visitors I shall have to receive. This is the more essential, as sherbet is the finale of a Turkish visit, and its introduction is the polite way of saying one has had enough of their company. Nothing at the camp but stagnation. The first act of the Holland campaign was well commenced; and all the world knows, that if Sir Ralph could have acted as he wished, the end might have been as glorious as the beginning. Political causes paralyzed his efforts there, as, alas! physical ones do now. If any thing lay in my power, I would proceed to take the fertile tracts of the Delta, which would make the capital dependant upon us for food. I doubt much whether Menou could prevail on his army to attempt re-conquering such districts from Turks, natives, and English combined; and they would be the first, as at Malta, to cry out when they were hungry. Taking Egypt gives us Alexandria; but the taking of Alexandria does not yield us Egypt:—this is my opinion, long ago distinctly expressed, and still the same. I hope when

the Turkish fleet has sailed you will contrive to walk over this ground with me, and see the advantage we should derive by making a second lake, as good as this, for all the purposes of barrier to the enemy, and navigation to us. I should rather say a third lake, for I mean the Mareotis, at the back of Alexandria, now dry, but which I find to be nine feet eight inches below the level of these waters."

From a letter of the 7th of April, the captain's impatience and dissatisfaction may be traced; though, perhaps, his own indefatigable activity led him to expect the same from others. "We are now off Alexandria, looking out for Gantheaume, who, it is rumoured, sailed on the 19th of last month to relieve this place. You will learn, by the despatches which the *Flora* carries home, that our troops have done everything that could be effected by bravery; but * * * * *

It is to be lamented, that the intelligence of Sir Sidney Smith is not brought into full play, though he is idolized by the soldiers and sailors; but, in the jealous race for renown, what should excite only honourable emulation, is often displaced by a degree of callous feeling, very closely allied to envy. Since the battle of the 21st, instead of advancing on the tide of success, while the enemy were dispirited, our army has remained strongly encamped about four miles from Alexandria.

The French are outside the Rosetta gate, and a gently-declining valley intervenes between the two positions. In this valley the outposts frequently converse, whence we find the French generals are at variance ; and that Abdalla Menou, who, with the profligate ease of a revolutionist, changed his religion as readily as a coat, or a king, displays the same imbecility which may be found not far from him. The vizier is smoking his pipe somewhere, I believe, on the confines of Palestine ; and the expected army, from India, is adrift in the Red Sea ; in short, all our operations drag along with a more than Turkish languor. * * * * *

There is one general with us, who seems to unite talent with intrepidity, but he is one of the youngest, and, unfortunately for his country, wounded : his name is Moore."

Weary of the monotony of his station, Beaver obtained permission to exchange ships with Captain J. C. Searle, and three days afterwards, made himself very conspicuous in rescuing the crew of the *Iphigenia*, a frigate which had accidentally caught fire : all efforts, however, to save her were vain, for she burnt with such awful rapidity, as to blow up with a tremendous explosion, in less than an hour.

An interesting letter of the 16th of June, to his sister, who has obligingly allowed me to make the following extracts, gives a lively picture of

Egyptian affairs: “ Lord Keith’s kindness to me has been unceasing. My new little vessel is called the *Determinée*, and to a person not conversant with our service, it would appear strange for a man to wish to give up the command of a ship of eighty guns, for one of only twenty-four. But in the former, playing only second or third fiddle, I could have little prospect of distinction; which is not the case in the latter, and before the war concludes, as she sails well, I may perchance fill an old leathern bag. Though my new quarter-deck is diminutive, it is just as broad a highway to honour, as that of a three-decker. * * * * * Things have not gone on here so well as they ought; indeed, nothing could have been worse, for though the French lines before Rosetta gate are evidently too extensive to defend, and an attack therefore at all times practicable, nothing has been attempted. Even the French officers ridicule our tardiness, and affect to despise our measures. Some inquiry will, I suppose, hereafter take place. * * * * *

The British army has languished, though a finer one never was assembled; and, in spite of the dissatisfaction of our great men with Sir Sidney Smith, and the treaty of El Arish, appearances indicate, that we shall be glad of similar terms, after all this enormous labour, expense, and bloodshed.

* * * * * Twice have we been on the eve of

laying hands on Gantheaume, in his thief-like progress up the Mediterranean."

The *Determinée* being sent to Constantinople, with intelligence from the armies, Lord Elgin announced, in a very friendly note, an intended pecuniary gift from the Porte, of 2000 piastres for the captain, and specified sums for the officers and ship's company; but, knowing Beaver's repugnance to accepting money from a foreign power, his lordship added, "I am well aware of the awkwardness of this, but attempts which I have made, on former occasions, to alter the practice, have proved unsuccessful, this being the established etiquette. The matter, therefore, stands thus: the Porte intend a politeness, and this is the known mode adopted by them." Notwithstanding this liberal explanation, the captain refused to countenance what he disapproved of, and he therefore declined the proffered favour for himself and officers, but accepted the portion which was intended for his crew.

That this delicacy of feeling was neither misunderstood, nor disregarded, even by Turks, was soon proved in a second letter from Lord Elgin, who, by unreserved communications on various matters, appears to have placed the highest confidence in the discretion of our officer. "As the Porte," says the ambassador, "are particularly

anxious to pay a compliment to you, both as Lord Keith's former captain, and as the bearer of good news from Grand Cairo, a diamond-box is prepared for your acceptance, and a gold one for each of your lieutenants." Besides this mark of favour, Captain Beaver's services in Egypt were rewarded with the medal of the Crescent; for, by a curious solecism, the Grand Signior had been induced to institute an order of knighthood, as a mode of rewarding his allies.

Between August, 1801, and the following May, several cruizes were made in various parts of the Mediterranean sea; but the only result was, the capture of a few insignificant vessels. The intelligent mind of the captain, however, led him to improve our acquaintance with the coasts and ports which he visited; for he was as scientific as brave:

“ Him science taught by mystic lore to trace
 The planets wheeling in eternal race;
 To mark the ship in floating balance held,
 By earth attracted, and by seas repell'd;
 Or point her devious track, through climes unknown,
 That leads to every shore, and every zone.”

The then state of the charts may be estimated by such remarks as these: “We are now working up between the Sporades and Asia, but can put no faith in the ‘sea cards,’ as none of the islands are

accurately placed, and many are entirely omitted.” —“The passage between Samos and the For-miche is disgracefully laid down.”—“The land we marked last evening for Cape Gallo, must have been Matapan, but the charts are all so infamous, that it is impossible to ascertain where one is, without running close in.”—“We are now off Toro, which is placed at least thirteen miles south of its proper latitude.”

One of his remarks might be advantageously adopted in most ships: “What,” he observes, “has hitherto been called *current*, will hereafter be termed *error*, whether it arise from current only, (which is generally and ignorantly blamed for all discrepancies of reckoning,) or from bad steerage, neglect of the officer of the watch, humid time-glasses, ill marking of the log-board, or from all of these combined.”

In a letter from Malta, he thus sums up the account of his proceedings: “My last cruize during the war, from which I had every reason to expect something handsome, terminated in nothing. It commenced the very day that the preliminary articles of peace were signed, and an embargo which immediately followed on the enemies’ vessels, till the cessation of hostilities, precluded all chance of my taking any thing. On arriving at Minorca, I learned that I had lost eleven hundred pounds,

freight money, by a new government order, which stops all payments on public monies; that sum having been left unpaid, in consequence of the death of poor Motz, the Commissary-general. Then, on coming to Malta, I found that all my plate, with every thing else necessary for house-keeping, had been sent from England in the *Utile*; and that vessel has never been heard of since her departure. These accumulated losses have left me ‘poor indeed.’”

The *Determinée* was now ordered to Portsmouth, and paid off on the 19th of May, 1802. After passing a few weeks in town, the captain purchased a house at Watford, in Hertfordshire, where he proved that the busy scenes of former years had not disqualified him for domestic quiet; and though “bounded in a nutshell,” he found his time fully occupied with his family, his books, his cottage, and his half an acre of garden. His mind, however, still veered towards *Bulama*, his “little paradise;” and, from an official communication with the Under Secretary of State, the command of two or three vessels, for African colonization, appeared to be within his reach, when the renewal of war closed the scheme.

This event caused him to regret having declined a frigate, which was offered to him, after his return to England; but his reason was judicious—an

absolute inability, in time of peace, to maintain a family at home, and also support the expenses of a table afloat. As a private individual, his habits were far from expensive, and he lived happy and contented under very moderate circumstances; but as a captain in the Royal Navy, which he esteemed as one of the first ranks in society, he felt it due to the service, that his establishment should be on a proportionate scale of expense. Indeed there was, in the contrast between his public and private character, a marked antithesis—for though totally devoid of all personal, he had a good deal of professional pride; and to acquit himself well in his duties, seen or unseen, was the predominant principle of his conduct. Perhaps this is a national characteristic:—no people love the glory of their country more than the French; it is a public stock, of which each individual boasts his proportion;—in England, it is also a public fund, but we unhesitatingly contribute to it our fortune, our talents, our labour, and our lives.

Though he failed in obtaining a ship, the Admiralty did not overlook Captain Beaver's offer of service, and in July 1803, appointed him to command the Sea Fencibles on the coast of Essex. This district was considered a very important one; and he officially proved that, if he was allowed to organize a flotilla, the block ships at the mouth of

the Thames would be utterly useless. "I certainly protest," he says, "those ten frigates at the Lower Hope are thrown away; for no invader would, of course, land amongst the marshes above them, and moreover, the tide would be too strong for them to keep their broadsides to bear, with springs." One of the answers on this subject announced to him the duties of the various officers of the establishment, and added,—“It is conceived you are to act as volunteers, subject to the command of juniors, but freely offering advice to those not so well informed as yourselves.” Beaver’s reply was noble,—“From what you say of our rank while serving here, we shall hold no very enviable situation: however, on the present occasion, as the tocsin is sounded, I would even serve before the mast, rather than be out of the way, in a time of public danger; but on affairs of less moment, I would refuse a command, sooner than resign my right. I shall therefore, since it is deemed necessary, act under any junior officer, with all the good will, zeal, and energy I am capable of.”

Such deference was paid to his professional knowledge, that he was confidentially consulted by Admiral Markham, General Beckwith, and Sir James Craig, on the threatened invasion; and his strictures are so clearly decisive, on certain points of national impolicy, and from disdaining to tem-

porize, expressed so strongly, that it is not advisable to publish them.

One of this observant officer's remarks, on arming an undisciplined multitude, however, deserves insertion, because, to our cost, we found the effect of flags on the Polish lances. "People unaccustomed to have shot flying about them, may feel rather awkward when first going into battle, and this awkward sensation is felt in proportion, not to the danger, but to the exposure of person; a goose will put its head under its wing, or an ostrich hide his in a bush, thinking they cannot be seen; and many rational bipeds, I am persuaded, breathe more confidently, if there be only a canvass screen between them and their antagonists. The Sea Fencibles, many of whom have never seen an enemy, armed only with pikes, may, I am apprehensive, if there was a necessity for charging, feel rather backward in advancing against musketry, totally unsheltered, and without having fire arms to retaliate. Now, it seems that something like a shield, made of scupper leather, and carried near the end of the front rank pikes, would resist shot at the distance of sixty yards, after which, if we charged the foes quickly, they could not reload. This shield should be of such a size, as effectually to cover the vital parts of the body; and it would not only inspire boldness in our unfleshed youths, but

be likely, I think, from its novelty, to frighten the cavalry, and intimidate the infantry of the enemy."

Meanwhile the men were trained, and such arrangements made, as to draw from Lord Keith a testimony highly creditable to the Sea Fencibles of the Essex district, which, he declared, "now formed a respectable accession to the country's means of defence." Indeed the Captain had very earnestly applied himself to rouse and encourage the spirit of the people in his command; and had handbills printed and circulated, prompting them to hope that Buonaparte would realize his threat of invasion, in order that he might find it was matter of equal indifference to us, whether we fought afloat or on shore.

It would be difficult to recall the impressions of anxiety and alarm which prevailed in 1804, respecting the flotilla at Boulogne. As Captain Beaver, from his former residence there, was thoroughly acquainted with the localities, he submitted a well-concerted plan for the destruction of the French craft, by carcasses, and offered to carry it into effect, in person. Although this proposal was not then deemed eligible, the Admiralty granted leave of absence, to afford him an opportunity of reconnoitring; and he sailed to the station in the *Prospero* bomb, bearing various instructions from Lord Keith, together with some valuable hints from Mr. N. Brown,

his Lordship's secretary. He appears to have examined the mouth of the harbour in a fisherman's boat, but the report of his examination is lodged in the official archives of the Admiralty.

A whole nation arming, in defence of their homes, was an insurmountable obstacle to the intentions of Buonaparte, so that the pompous bravado of invasion gradually subsided. Beaver, therefore, now found time to arrange the "African Memoranda," or, as he called it, his "thing of shreds and patches." Nor were his literary efforts confined to the Bulama papers, for the state of politics drew forth his opinions, and he was everywhere a firm opposer of the fallacious doctrines then so widely diffused. "No man of principle," he exclaims, "should ever submit his feelings and conclusions to the theories of an enthusiast; and the present mock-respectful tone assumed by some of our leading men, as to the invincibility of our enemy, his talent, and his perfection, should be most contemptuously spurned; for whatever he may be, Old England can readily furnish men to match him. Their declamation may gratify disaffection and ignorance; but it will require something more like reason to persuade the better classes."

A letter which he published in the *Courier* of the 16th of February, 1804, under the signature of Nearchus, tended so generally to allay the appre-

hensions of the timid, that much curiosity was excited as to the author. It is a fair specimen of argumentative reasoning: he considers the subject of a descent on our coasts, under three heads,—the enemy's quitting their ports—their crossing the channel—and their landing. Under the first, he proves, from substantial data, the utter impracticability of more than a fourth of the required number effecting it in one tide; under the second, if they come in detached portions, with British ships “which know no winter,” we “devour them like shrimps;” and in the event of their even overcoming both those obstacles, and “vomiting their unhallowed crews upon our blessed shores, they will be received there by the British army—an army with which I have served in each quarter of the globe; I know its merits, I know its foibles, I know it well; and am as fully convinced as I am that I now write, that this army as far surpasses all others in bravery, as British seamen surpass all others in skill: to it I most willingly consign, without the least fear of the consequence, all who may land.”

A period of more active service now approached, for, after frequent and fruitless applications, he was at length appointed to the *Acasta*, a forty-gun frigate; and having sold his cottage at Watford, and settled his wife and children at Swansea, in Wales, he speedily got himself ready for sea.

Previously to sailing for the West Indies, he thus expressed himself to his sister:—"Your hint about my getting rich hurts me much, for I hate money from the bottom of my soul, with the exception only of its enabling me to do good. Glory and renown I love, but God knows whether it be not too late for me to acquire them. However, whatever be my fate, and which, except as it concerns my family, I neither wish to accelerate nor retard, I trust I shall leave behind me a reputation, pure and unsullied. Though my services have not been brilliant, I feel conscious that they have been useful to my country. May it, I pray, never stand in need of them; may I be the worst of her children, and then, I say it with confidence, she will always be great. But enough,—I shall never be disgraced by being too anxious to get wealth."

He could little have anticipated how soon these sentiments would be put to the proof; and that of upwards of three thousand pounds prize-money, which his vigilance procured on his new station, he was to be defrauded of every shilling, through Maxwell, the agent at Barbadoes, dying insolvent.

Our officer's customary foresight was displayed on the voyage out, in the disposition and management of the convoy under his charge; for he attended to the benefit of the commercial interests of

his country as eagerly as he did to that of her martial glory. Arriving at Barbadoes, it was discovered that the stern frame of the *Acasta* was so loose, that she was obliged to be sent to Halifax for the necessary repairs. "We were eight days," says he, "on this coast, without ever seeing it, as a thick fog prevented our making the land; however, when it did clear up, we entered one of the finest harbours I ever saw. I know of none more safe, or more beautiful than this. The town of Halifax is well built, the society is very good, and there cannot be a more hospitable place in the world."

In an affectionate letter to Mrs. Beaver, of the 2d of September, 1807, he rejoices on returning from an excursion just in time to catch the moment of a schooner's sailing to England. "The dinner is over, the card tables made up, and the dancing begun; I therefore seize the opportunity of retiring, to write to all that I hold dear; for I assure you, my mind is oftener with you and the dear children, than on the spot which I accidentally occupy. But let me describe my journey. Sir A. Cochrane arrived here a week ago with his squadron, to avoid the hurricane months in the West Indies, and having some estates thirty or forty miles off, he took this opportunity of visiting them, when I became one of the party. Pleasure, however, is too capricious a nymph to attend a particular invitation,

and is too often scared by 'the note of preparation;' at the very setting off, I found my steed was possessed of more discretion than velocity, and we laboured along the road with philosophical resignation. That portion of the province being almost uninhabited, it was necessary to carry our comforts with us; but the freighted cart which bore them, having been sent in advance, we were only tantalized by the wish to arrive. The country may be said to be almost in a state of nature, for scarcely ten acres in a million are cultivated; only one house to be seen, generally speaking, in the course of nine or ten miles, and that affording but homely fare and miserable lodging; we had three small beds for six of us, and my portmanteau, with every thing I wanted, was left behind. * * * Give me a letter of half a quire, and make me one of my own family again."

The gloomy aspect of the political atmosphere, at this moment, seems to have imparted a despondent asperity to his tone on public affairs. "A packet," he writes, "has just arrived from England, bringing the heavy news of an armistice between France and Russia! So that there is nothing left for us now, but our own native valour, and, I trust, invincible fortitude. As to the change of ministry you mention, and dissolution of parliament, it seems of little importance at present who is in, or who is out; for the late special plead-

ing, speech-twisting debates, savour rather of the loaves and fishes than of patriotism; and, indeed, place and emolument, the apples of the aristocratical struggle of whigs and tories, are more often the motive than the reward of such contentions. Yet in times of public danger, party spirit ought to give way to virtue. But notwithstanding a full knowledge of how many states have been ruined by an indiscriminate love of popularity in their public leaders, there are some of our most valuable characters foolishly sacrificing at the same shrine, regardless of our national importance. As to those mob-courting demagogues, who clog their country's efforts, and thereby add to its burthens, merely to exhibit themselves, they deserve transportation.

“Matters are very unsatisfactory on this side of the herring-pond: the embargo may have been considered necessary by many well-meaning members of the Congress, though it not only straightened their commerce, but was partial; it was aiding Napoleon in his projects, and practically co-operating against the existence of the last refuge of European freedom. If either dignity or policy guided our councils, we should have been at war with these people, for our conciliatory system is viewed only as want of energy. Instead of strictly enforcing our orders in council, we enact ordinances one day, and the next issue licenses in the teeth of

them; thereby decidedly sacrificing our national to our commercial interest.

“The affair of the *Leopard* and *Chesapeake*, arose from the hostile practice of seducing our seamen; yet the brave officer who did his duty, is execrated as ‘the murderer *Whitby*—a savage who escaped hanging by a sham trial.’ Indeed, the vulgarity, mendacity, and malignity of the American democratic press exceeds belief. With you, in Europe, where a war of weighty import is waging, the public mind is too ardently occupied, to pay that attention to trans-Atlantic politics which perhaps they merit. But the heads of departments here should detect and expose the misrepresentations and falsehoods, which flow so profusely: what remains uncontradicted, will generally be credited; for many read, while few think. If the editor of the *Halifax Gazette* cannot stem the effect of the poison which is disseminated in this province, and is withholden by disaffection, indolence, or fear, the sooner he sells his types and press, and kicks his devil into hell, the better.

“To oppose the insidious subtlety of detraction, Great Britain requires nothing but naked truth; let that go forth without comment, and her moderation, her justice, her forbearance, and her magnanimity, will offer such a contrast to the tortuous policy of France,—that America will hereafter

blush at her present unnatural and degenerate connexion. The sons of freedom arraying themselves against their brethren of common ancestry, laws, and language, in the hour of distress! America leaguering against liberty, and raising her hand against that parent, to whom she is indebted for the principles and knowledge which should humanize and ennoble her! But the truth is, Jonathan *calculates* that we are at our last gasp, and longs to be in at the death; he is eager for strife, because he is as yet unacquainted with the consequent blessings of loans and war taxes; and he will, in the event of Napoleon's ultimate success, spit his venom to gain our commerce and the Canadas.

“ I make these assertions from a comparison of facts, rather than from a discussion of motives; but my opinions, however inefficient to carry conviction, are strictly impartial. I do not impute to the whole population, or even to the major part of it, the low scurrility which marks and stigmatizes the present proceedings. But under what plea do they join the French? It cannot be as fellow revolutionists, for the independence of America was brought about by worthy leaders, and a people who had wholesome English habits, English laws, and English morality; men differing as widely from the ferocious visionaries of France, as elephants do from musquitos.”

The *Acasta* having received such repairs as could be afforded, returned to Barbadoes ; shortly after which, Mr. R. T. Ellis, a fine young midshipman, died of a fever, and the event was broken by Captain Beaver, to the father of the youth, in the following appropriate and feeling letter: "It is the lot of but few to arrive at that period of life, to which you and I have attained, without having experienced many and severe afflictions ; and one great drawback upon the happiness which is produced by a numerous and virtuous family, is, that we are thereby exposed in more points than the isolated being, to the shafts of misfortune. However, experience teaches us always to expect them ; reason, to be prepared for them ; and religion, to be consoled under them, whenever they do arrive. The ways of Providence are to us inscrutable, and to its decrees we are bound to submit with Christian resignation. These reflections have forced themselves upon me, ere I could commence the melancholy duty which I have to perform. Alas ! Sir, to the lively interest and keen sensibility of an anxious father, I have already said enough ; his foreboding mind must have convinced him of his great, his irreparable loss. I shall not add to the weight and pressure of so severe an affliction any vain condolence from myself, which might only increase, without at all

alleviating, the pangs already felt; religion, reason, and time, are the best comforters on such occasions. Until our arrival at Barbadoes, the 20th of October last, the *Acasta* had been uncommonly healthy, since which we have been obliged to remain idle at anchor, in order to be ready to embark troops against the Danish islands. In this situation, a fever made its appearance on board of us, some ten days ago; about twenty of our number had been attacked, and already three had fallen victims, when your son was taken ill on the 25th of November. As he did not mend the next day, I determined to get under weigh on the 27th, as the best means of restoring him, and the rest of my people, to their health. But, alas! notwithstanding the benefit of sea air, and all the care and attention of the surgeons and nurses, he was cut off in the bloom of youth, and the freshness of hope, at five o'clock on the evening of the 28th. The only observation I will presume to make on this distressing visitation is, that our dear departed friend was universally beloved; I myself loved him almost as one of my own children, and have the consolation to hope, that as his life was good and innocent, so he is at present happy."

An active, though unprofitable series of cruizes was successively undertaken; but in the various ports which were visited by the *Acasta*, the most

careful attention was manifested by Captain Beaver for the improvement of hydrography. Indeed, his exertions in this branch of public duty, proved his regard for a science which ennobles and stimulates the minds of officers, renders them equal to the highest stations in the service, and, by making them excellent navigators and seamen, inspires a confidence unknown to those who must trust to other, and often ill-qualified heads.

Advising a young naval friend, who had just attained the command of a sloop of war, the Captain says, “as all who wear blue jackets are not sailors, be careful to discriminate between the true bred seamen, and the profligate vagabonds, who are too often intermixed with them. Recollect, also, that numbers of your people have been impressed, and are the unwilling victims of our temporal, though urgent interests. Such considerations, added to the tantalizing breaches of the ties of home, which the very nature of the service renders necessary, should make every good officer desirous of establishing the comfort of his crew. Temper discipline with kindness. Endeavour to grant some respite in port, if the tenour of your instructions will admit it. The refitting, stowing stores, squaring yards, working boats, and drying sails, with all the minor minutiae, leave but little

leisure. And yet I know many smart gentlemen who torment themselves to find constant labour for their ships' companies ; and who would be astonished to discover that it was not considered a proof of knowledge. Jack knows well enough what is necessary, and therefore does not relish a too frequent mustering of hammocks and bags, polishing of iron work, and other artificial modes of teasing the time."

Whilst beating before Martinique, the *Acasta* chased a letter of marque brig into St. Anne's Bay, between the fortified points of Borgnesse and Du Jardin, on the 18th of March, 1808. In tacking off shore, the batteries opened their fire, which was promptly returned from the ship, while working in, and as soon as the shot from the two headlands crossed over her, she was anchored with springs so as to have a broadside to bear upon each. An animated cannonade was now continued for about fifty minutes, when our frigate driving into sixty fathoms water, she was obliged to make sail. Winds and currents prevented a return till the 29th, when being joined by the *Ulysses*, *Hippomenes*, and *Morne Fortunée*, they stood again into the bay, for the purpose of destroying the brig. By a well-directed attack, the enemy were soon driven out of the Borgnesse battery, and Captain Beaver dispatched

a formidable party, under the Honourable Lieutenant Gore*, to spike the guns, and roll them and their carriages over the cliffs. The fort on Point du Jardin was then so judiciously assailed by the ships, as to enable the boats to approach, when Mr. Gore gallantly stormed it, struck the colours, and spiked the guns, in the face of a numerous, though irregular force. He then dashed a couple of miles up a narrow creek, to see what could be done with the corvette, but was so exposed to a heavy fire which she opened, that finding it impossible to carry her, he very prudently retreated. Besides her own force, there were at least a thousand soldiers on shore, to protect her with field-pieces, and two vessels moored on either quarter full of troops, so that it would have been madness to proceed.

Our officer had scarcely returned into port, before he was hurried off again by the Admiral, to communicate to the government of the Caraccas the events which had taken place at Cadiz, in consequence of the machinations of Napoleon. Arriving at La Guira on the 16th, he sent a flag of truce to demand an interview with the Captain-General of

* This gallant young officer was brother to the Earl of Arran, and promised fair to become an honour to the British flag. But he was prematurely removed from the transitory scene; in attempting to save the lives of some seamen who had fallen overboard, he perished in that ocean, which shall hereafter be called to give up its dead.

Venezuela, and learnt that a French corvette brig had arrived a few hours before him, with despatches from the Usurper. The Captain now made preparations for his journey to the Caraccas; but foreseeing that the enemy would endeavour to escape, during his absence, he left with his first lieutenant the following laconic orders. "Permit no communication whatever, either with ships or the shore, till my return. Beat to quarters every evening, and keep regular watch, as at sea. If the brig sails, follow and bring her back. If the expected French frigate arrives, clear for action; do not commence an engagement, but when she begins, take her."

On the following morning, the brig finding her berth rather uncomfortable, and apprehensive of being seized at anchor, determined to try her chance; accordingly, with the breeze of day-break, she weighed and ran out to sea, under all sail. Every motion, however, had been closely watched; in a few moments the frigate slipped after her, and when out of the range of the Spanish forts, fired at her, till she struck her colours—taking, at the same time, especial care not to damage her hull. She proved to be the *Serpent*, a remarkably fine vessel, mounting sixteen carronades, and two long guns, with a complement of one hundred and four men, and had been expressly selected for this service from her well-known sail-

ing qualities. On the 18th, the *Acasta* returned to the anchorage with her prize, and was saluted in form by all the batteries. The ship's company, at the suggestion of their commander, resigned their salvage of ten slaves, who were found in the brig, and had been taken by her out of a Granada sloop which she had burnt.

The news conveyed by the frigate had been received with enthusiasm by the people; but the Captain-General, puzzled by the tenour of contradictory despatches from two belligerent powers, could not so readily enter into the new feeling of affairs. Owing to several palpable incivilities, Captain Beaver addressed a severe remonstrance to him, complaining of the superior reception which had been given to the French officer, the day before, though he was the bearer of most mortifying intelligence. The Governor replied in terms as haughty, desiring him to take what refreshments he required, and immediately quit the road. This induced our stern envoy to reiterate his charges, and "as to the manner which your Excellency conceives would have been most appropriate to answer my letter, 'with the cannon of the batteries,' I can only say, that it would have been a very extraordinary one, to the harbinger of peace; to one who has brought you one hundred and thirty of your liberated countrymen, and pass-

ports to protect your vessels from detention. Such an answer, I think, would not reflect much honour on your Excellency, while to me it would be so far a matter of indifference, as to cause no other sensation than that of regret."

Such altercation presented a contrast to the intercourse which might have been expected; but Don Juan de Casas felt himself in a dilemma, for he had a forecast of the probable consequences of the political convulsions. He was aware that though prejudice, bigotry, and oppression, had jointly conspired to keep those regions in a condition little differing from barbarism, yet the rash conduct of Spain, in joining the American war, had already inclined the Creoles towards a struggle for freedom, especially as they were conscious how easy the yoke of the British colonists had been when compared with their own.

But whatever were the difficulties of his situation, the governor certainly failed in the usual Spanish courtesy, though he professed infinite regard for the "sons of the Thames," and Beaver was therefore imperiously urged to resent his conduct. During the twenty-three hours that he remained at the Caraccas, he was neither asked to eat or drink, nor even to sit down; but after being left amongst the clerks and domestics, while the Junta deliberated on his despatches, was obliged to find

lodging and food where he could. "I approve very much," writes the Admiral, "of all you have done, except that your letter to the Captain-General is rather too strong, though you certainly had a right to complain of his want of attention. I really wish that matters may be soothed, for negotiators should never quarrel. Keeping one's temper is of more consequence than you are aware of. I have taken your beautiful prize into the service, and named her the *Pert*; she will be valued high, and her stores sell remarkably well."

From the weak state of the ship, the Captain thought it prudent to keep her on the coast of the Spanish main, during the hurricane months, by which he was instrumental in arresting and destroying the Proclamations and Manifestoes, which the emissaries of the intrusive sovereign sent out in abundance. While wooding at Alca-traz, near Puerto Caballo, on the 22d of August, twelve seamen were brought on board quite blind from incautiously cutting Manchineel trees. At this time the ship was swarming with centipedes, scorpions, mosquitoes, and other noxious pests of tropical regions; while the cockroaches were so numerous, that in endeavouring to extirpate them, they actually destroyed, for several days, about one hundred and fifty dozen a day! Fortunately, however, from Captain Beaver's constant attention

to cleanliness and sobriety, and the care of his surgeon, the crew escaped with scarcely any sickness.

The due consideration of this officer for the lives of those under his command may be judged of from the following anecdote:—Remarking one day, in conversation, upon the dangers to which many, from a mistaken sense of courage, sometimes expose themselves and their crews, where no corresponding advantage could be gained,—he said he had sinned occasionally in that way himself, but was cured of the propensity by an incident, which, though trifling in itself, had made a strong impression upon his mind. He had stood close in under one of the batteries of Martinique, when a shot fired from it fell at the feet of a midshipman, whom he had received under the anxious solicitations of a parent, to be as careful of him as circumstances would permit. “I asked myself seriously whether I had fulfilled the entreaties of my friend? I had no business to be where I then was, for no object could be accomplished by it; and had this boy been killed, I should have considered his death to have lain at my door. The same feeling has influenced me since; and as, however I may risk my own life, I have no right, unnecessarily, to endanger that of others, I take care to avoid it.”

The *Acasta* having returned to Antigua, several small prizes enabled our officer to render his family

comfortable, by sending repeated remittances; although those, as we have seen, through the house of Maxwell, never reached Mrs. Beaver, and were therefore sources of mutual disappointment. These vexations were too intimately connected with his destinies. The great and successful regard with indifference such as fail in the arduous struggle of life; those who are born great, do not wish to be overtaken; whilst those who have obtained elevation, feed their conscious superiority by the belief, that every man's failure is his own fault. The mould of a man's fortune, according to Bacon, is in his own hands; yet years of ceaseless toil are often passed without attaining the desired end; and the mere mould, without raw material, may be compared to the commission to make bricks where there was no straw. But to those who reflect, that in this world "the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong," our hero may appear worthy of admiration, even in confined circumstances; for he never considered that poverty a disgrace which proceeded neither from extravagance nor indolence.

Meanwhile the repairs of the ship were hastened by a friendly note from the Commander-in-chief, who, having witnessed Beaver's ability on the Mediterranean station, was resolved to call it into full play. "Hurry on, all you can, as I intend you to

take charge of the disembarkation at Martinique ; push on, for if you are not very alert, I fear you will be behind the lighter." Thus stimulated, a battalion of the 60th regiment was embarked, and the anchor weighed by the 21st of December ; but in a few hours, and with a light breeze, the bow sprit snapped short off, and obliged our anxious officer to put before the wind for Freeman's Bay. The stump of this spar was found to be entirely rotten, to within two or three inches of the surface, and the decay was so regularly distributed through the capillary system, that a portion was sent to the commissioners of the navy as a curiosity.

"Many years have rolled over my head," remarks the Captain, "since I first visited these regions, and I know not whether the manners of the people have altered, or my own taste has changed, perhaps both may have felt the influence of the interval. I admire the matchless tints of the scenery, and the heavenly splendour of the climate more than formerly ; but I no longer relish the boisterous cheer and lax hospitality, which once did not incommode me. The chatter of the negro is as vociferous, and the piccaninies gambol as wildly as ever ; while Sunday is still the happy day which they call their own. But the planter is certainly less gay ; and he appears already to suffer under the interference of our legislature. I appre-

hend the result of our measures will ultimately prove of greater benefit to our enemies, than either to our own subjects or the slaves. It seems to me but reasonable, that those who so warmly discuss this question in the House of Commons should first take the trouble to make a trip across the water, and ascertain the truth; for the enquiry has hitherto been borne down more by sophistry than by fact. I would rather see the wisdom and philanthropy of England exerted to ameliorate the condition of the blacks, which she can do, than witness her efforts at what she cannot do. I abhor slavery; but feeling that, constituted as mankind are, it ever has existed, and perhaps ever will, I cannot surrender the evidence of my senses to mere speculative morality. Everything I now meet with fully confirms me in the opinions which I have already expressed, on this topic, in my narrative, or 'African Memoranda.'"

By Christmas-day the damage was refitted, the soldiers re-embarked, and the *Acasta* again under weigh; but to how little purpose, he describes in a letter to Mrs. Beaver, of the 3d of January, 1809, when, after his usual affectionate inquiries, he says, "I joined the Admiral off the Diamond rock, and found everything ready for attack, but for what reason I know not, the attempt was yesterday finally given up. About this time last year, after having

waited six weeks, for no other purpose, I lost the chance of going against the Danish islands by one day; and now having made such extraordinary exertions to be in readiness, that, from the rising to the setting sun, no slave was ever more fagged, the plan is given up! It is hard—rather, it is unfortunate! The friendly admiral, by way of consolation, has given me a couple of frigates, with as many sloops, to cruize to windward of Martinique, where the enemy are endeavouring to throw in reinforcements, and where a squadron of frigates, with troops on board, is hourly expected. If we meet, I trust I shall do nothing wrong; and if I do all that is right, our dear children will, at all events, be benefited.”

The invasion of Martinique, however, was only suspended; for, spurred by despatches intercepted from the colonial prefect, exposing the weaknesses of his command, the expedition was speedily re-embodied, and arrived off the island, on the 29th of January. The *Acasta*, bearing a broad pendant, conducted the principal division of the army to Bay Robert, where, with an address and skill which excited general applause, and stamped his superiority, Beaver buoyed off the channels between the shoals, boldly led the way, and by noon anchored his squadron and the transports. Two hours sufficed to make the requisite dispositions,

the soldiers were arranged in divisions, and the boats advanced towards the shore in prescribed martial order, to the surprise of the French spectators. Though the weather was very squally, the approaching force was much too formidable for the garrisons of that part of the coast to resist; and the troops consequently landed in about fifteen minutes, without the slightest opposition.

“ We sailed from Barbadoes,” remarks the Captain, “ in two divisions; the Admiral, with all the line-of-battle ships, and 3000 soldiers went to leeward; while the squadron under my orders, consisting of seven frigates and three sloops, with 7000 troops in transports, came to windward. As the commander-in-chief of the land forces, and two other generals, were on board with me, I was enabled to give them sufficient notice of my plans to ensure content. I therefore ran into the cul-de-sac, with the whole of my division, and though the moment was an anxious one, being on my own responsibility, yet I never felt more confident. We anchored about noon, on the 30th, and before sunset debarked two whole brigades; which being followed the next morning by the reserve, stores, and ammunition, General Beckwith immediately advanced. They had a little fighting on the 1st of February, and some very warm work indeed on the 2d, near a commanding height called Sourrier,

in some measure overlooking Fort Bourbon, wherefore its mastery was obstinately contested by bayonet charges; the French stood uncommonly well, but our soldiers behaving as gallantly as they always do when well commanded, were superior, and retained the post.

“Feeling the disadvantage of the intricate and dangerous navigation of Bay Robert, and aware of the easy access to that of Trinité, where there were but few troops, I took upon myself to send a detachment of seamen and marines to occupy the town and fort, which object was accomplished, by my merely promising the inhabitants respect of property and religion. The French had a sloop of war in Maran bay, and a fine forty-gun frigate under Fort Royal, which they have burnt in pure spite. The surrender of Fort Bourbon, after a bombardment of five days and nights, has placed this valuable colony under the British flag, for the third time; but whatever credit may be acquired by the conquest, no money can be expected, though, for my own part, I rest perfectly satisfied with the implicit confidence placed in me by both the commanders-in-chief.”

One of the first acts of General Beckwith was, the appointment of our worthy hero as captain of the port, the duties to be executed by deputy. The reputation acquired in the late successful enter-

prise pointed him out for another similar service. He had but just anchored at Antigua, when a note was brought to him from Sir A. Cochrane, pressing his immediately proceeding to sea. "Lose not a moment's time, my dear Beaver, as the expedition against the Saints waits only for you. Three sail of the line and two frigates, which intended to relieve Martinique, have sought shelter there, and it will be our duty to catch them. You shall command the landing; and the Intrepid, Gloire, Dolphin, Narcissus, Circe, and some smaller vessels, will be placed under your orders."

Not an instant was lost, after receiving this exhilarating notice, in completing his stores, so that within the week he was at the station, and wrote thus: "April 14th.—Early this morning, we hoisted out the flat boats, double shotted the guns, and bore up for the narrow channel leading to the Saints, which we had previously buoyed off. While standing in, we issued two days' food to the troops, and at eleven came to an anchor, with the enemy's shot going over us; the Gloire, Haughty, and Unique, pouring their broadsides into the woods to clear the bushes. At noon, I left the ship with General Maitland, to arrange the landing, which was effected in half an hour afterwards, in Anse à Bois Joli, abreast of the ship. The seamen assisted the soldiers most cordially,

and the latter debarked in a ready, orderly, and martial manner. A smart skirmishing now ensued up Mount Roselle, the hill on our right, where the enemy had made a stand, but whence, by the resolute advance of the rifles of the 60th regiment, he was driven in about an hour. All hands working heartily, before five, we began to throw shells at the French squadron, from two large howitzers; and as I suspected that they would soon get annoyed, and be off, I went on board, and stationed boats to row guard. At ten, we perceived the three line-of-battle ships were weighing, whereupon we instantly made signal to the cruizers outside, and beat to quarters, soon after which we heard heavy guns fired in the direction of the Admiral.

“ Early on the 15th, seeing the French frigates still at anchor, I went on shore to reconnoitre them; my spirited lads making the gig fly along in their hopes of approaching action. At the same moment, the General requested all the boats of the squadron to convey troops to Anse Vanouvre, as the advance by land was extremely difficult. This was a ticklish request at such a moment—however, my duty was to comply; but I warned the Gloire and Jason, with the Unique and Swaggerer, to be in readiness for running out to sea, and my orders were received with exultation. Having landed and gained the summit of the hill,

I perceived the frigates were close in-shore, and apparently hanging only by warps, upon which I hurried on board, ordered the Jason out, and telegraphed to the Intrepid. At ten, the two French ships made all sail, and pushed over for Guadaloupe, and in about twenty minutes the headmost one was engaged with the Intrepid; but they were soon lost to our earnest gaze, behind the lower Saint. For myself, having charge of the army, a thousand of whom were then actually in the boats, I could only anxiously look on; and was, moreover, additionally mortified that the cruizers to leeward were not in their stations. The enemy's batteries played the greatest part of the day, and our men laboured with most praiseworthy ardour. At night, a strong picket was surprised, when eighteen of the enemy were bayoneted, and twelve brought in prisoners. Just afterwards, I received a note from General Maitland, mentioning his having sent a summons to the French commandant, who vauntingly replied, that he has 'des vivres, des munitions, et des soldats,' and will not surrender. He will change his tune, I believe, in less than a couple of days."

"April 16th.—The morning was ushered in by the disagreeable announcement, that both the French frigates had escaped into Guadaloupe; but I think their chance of ever getting back to

France is an extremely slender one. All the boats are employed in transporting stores and ammunition for the army. The enemy's shot rattle over us, but as I do not think it worth moving, I have only ordered the small craft to weigh, and cruize between us and Guadaloupe, to prevent communication. Nothing can exceed the coolness of the sailors; they scarcely deign to notice the batteries, except in hearty ejaculations to be at them. The troops, also, are all in high spirits, and very bravely repulsed a sudden attempt of the enemy to dispossess them of the posts which they had gained.

“ 17th.—Soldiers and seamen employed as yesterday, and everything advancing prosperously; but, finding I had only six days' provisions left, I have been obliged to put both services on two-thirds allowance. A constant firing was kept up till about two in the afternoon, when the French sent out a flag of truce to propose terms. They were allowed till a quarter to six o'clock, to accept those which we were willing to grant. The time elapsed, and the concerted signal was not made; but as the Adjutant-General was in the town negotiating, hostilities did not re-commence. This was a great mortification to all those who had laboriously constructed, and were to have had the pleasure of working, a capital battery, of six

mortars, ready to open in the evening. By eight o'clock, the capitulation was signed, and the garrison, consisting of about a thousand persons, became prisoners of war. Besides a few sloops and schooners, with a quantity of flour, gunpowder, and brass ordnance, we have taken a ship worth two thousand pounds. We also picked up all the anchors and cables, which had been left behind by the French squadron, and are now busily employed in destroying the works, the very foundations of which we intend to blow up."

This service was satisfactory to all parties, and was performed with an unanimity unexcelled. General Maitland, in the report to his chief, announces that " Captain Beaver has increased the character which I know his conduct at Bay Robert, in your presence, gained him. His arrangement, and presence of mind, render him peculiarly qualified for joint operations." And in the official despatch to the Admiralty on this occasion, Sir A. Cochrane says, " the direction of all the naval operations connected with the army was left entirely with Captain Beaver, of the *Acasta*, who conducted the service with all the correctness and celerity which I expected of him."

The evacuation of the new conquest was a measure which did not at all please our captain, for he considered the Saints most eligibly situated for a naval and military station, to check Guadaloupe and

protect Dominica ; and by keeping open the communication with the other islands, become the key of the West Indies. Its strength of position, he asserted, might make it the Malta of the Caribbean Sea ; and the anchorage is so good, that it may be termed the Trincomalee of the West—while in health, from exposure to sea breezes, and the absence of swamps, it is the Montpellier of the Antilles. The want of water, he affirms, is an additional security, because, all the tanks being inside the fortresses, a besieger would very soon be in distress in that climate.

The next service selected for Captain Beaver, was the command of a squadron off Guadaloupe, where the two frigates, which had escaped from the Saints, were blockaded. On the 9th of May, as there was a fine leading wind, he ran in towards the enemy, to execute a plan which he had concerted, of boarding them from the Cherub and Julia, while the squadron were threatening other points, and supporting the attack. “ I reinforced these vessels with some choice fellows, eager for anything, and intended them to run alongside ; but they were unfortunately becalmed under the batteries, which opened all their powers of annoyance ; and seeing that, from want of wind, nothing could be done against the frigates, though both sloops of war might be cut to pieces, I tacked and recalled them.”

The day following this attempt, he received a letter from Sir A. Cochrane.—“ My dear Beaver, if you like to have a very fine line-of-battle ship, I shall be glad to give you command of the prize which we took on the night of the 15th ult. Should you wish for her, such of your ship’s company as will volunteer may accompany you. She was called the Hautpoult, after a general killed in Russia; but I have named her the Abererombie, in memory of our old friend. She is a large ship, with thirty ports on each deck, and but just launched. She suffered a good deal in her crew. Let me have your answer as soon as possible, for in either case I must send the *Acasta* home with the June convoy; and whoever takes her, will be burthened with a number of French prisoners, as we are much overstocked. Will not your force be insufficient to cover the two sloops of war? At this distance, it is impossible to give an opinion as to your plan; I therefore entirely depend upon your judgment: perhaps you ought to let the Frenchmen bolt.”

Meanwhile the vexatious blockade was continued, for the Admiral could spare no small vessel to make a fireship of, by which Captain Beaver hoped to force the enemy out. Affairs remained thus till the 31st, when “ Lieutenant Fellowes reported to me his being unable to keep the *Unique* afloat another night. Upon this, I imme-

diately determined to burn her, though it was not otherwise my intention, because her commander is one of my most zealous supporters. I therefore ordered him to stand in, under cover of the Cherub and Julia, with armed launches to bring away his people. My wishes were admirably executed; at nine o'clock she was in flames, and in three-quarters of an hour blew up in capital style. The enemy were greatly alarmed, and Fort Matilda, the frigates, and all the batteries, cannonaded till the explosion took place; but nothing started."

As Beaver, with a tenacity not at all uncommon in the service, determined to stick to his old ship, he returned to Barbadoes, whence he thus addresses a naval friend: "What with expeditions, carrying troops, prisoners, or blacks, and blockading Guadaloupe, I have not had a minute to answer your inquiries. Indeed, off the last place, we were twenty-three nights within gun-shot of the enemy's frigates, all hands at quarters, not a man went to bed; yet after all, I was obliged to leave them for some luckier fellow to snap up. I regret you have had such vexation in your applications, and that you found ***** so indifferent; but mere official elevation cannot confer the wisdom and judgment so often arrogated; nor is professional zeal always felt, or even understood, by such men. You have expressed yourself well; a simple statement of

relative circumstances is more illustrative than a whole course of abstract reasoning, deductive of positive conclusions, only from assumed positions. Independently of the leading and striking features of the case, I marvel at the answer of Sir C. Cotton, because, if I err not, his own preferment was so rapid, that his name never appeared in the Admiralty list, till it was inserted amongst the post captains. * * * * It is, as Brown would say, a vulgar error to assert, that because our brethren of the army purchase their commissions, they are entitled to greater indulgence than the blue jackets. I wish, for the chivalry of the thing, that money was entirely out of the question; but the case stands thus: an ensign paying the regulation price for his commission, not only nets, by the pay and allowances, at least twenty per cent. for his money, but also becomes entitled to half-pay from the hour he ships the coat. A midshipman, on the contrary, must fit out and support himself three or four years, as a volunteer at nine pounds per annum; after which he may remain an indefinite time in the same humble station, on very low pay, and is liable to be set adrift, without either rank or half-pay, when his services are no longer required."

The convoy having assembled, the *Acasta* sailed for England, literally freighted with Frenchmen.

During a squally, tempestuous passage, the ship leaked and laboured so severely, that on being docked at Plymouth, it became matter of surprise that she had crossed the Atlantic in safety. She arrived in the Downs, on the 17th of August, and the Captain had preserved his composure so guardedly through the voyage, that the ladies, his guests, were not aware of the anxiety he suffered from the craziness of the ship, the weakness of the crew, and the turbulence of the captives. He had not only thought it prudent himself to sleep with loaded fire-arms, but recommended Captain Collier and Lieutenant Fellowes, his passengers, to do the same. One night, hearing some unusual noise in the ship, he apprehended instantly that the prisoners had risen on the watch; he therefore flew to the cabin door, with a pistol in each hand, for the event: but his cool judgment, even at that moment of alarm, prevented his betraying the suspicion, which an unguarded question to the sentinel might have revealed.

The *Acasta* was found in so defective a state, that she was paid off, to the great disappointment of her commander, who had hoped she could be repaired in time to rejoin Sir A. Cochrane, and the expedition against Guadaloupe. The meeting with his relations was embittered by a severe visitation, for arriving in town on the 20th of Septem-

ber, he received the melancholy intelligence of the death of his brother, Major Beaver, in the East Indies. This promising officer had purchased his successive steps of preferment, and as his services claimed notice from the War Office, that sad evening was spent in drawing up memorials, for leave to sell his commission*. But the Duke of York, who, acquainted with the Major's merit, had graciously promised to bestow, at a fit opportunity, some mark of approbation, was no longer at the head of the army; the machinations of a vile conspiracy, and the measures taken in our most popular assembly, (albeit witnesses were allowed to whom no court of justice would have listened,) having occasioned his Royal Highness's secession from the military councils.

The following morning, with feelings ill at ease,

* As a proof of his merit, I insert the following General Order, dated Colombo, the 2d of September, 1803.

“The Governor has observed with peculiar satisfaction the rapid series of well-judged and well-executed operations, by which Captain Herbert Beaver, of the 19th regiment, has hitherto proceeded in recovering the important province of Matura from the Candians, and in bringing back its deluded inhabitants to their duty. The indefatigable activity, zeal, and ability, which that officer has displayed, since his assumption of the command of that district, has fully justified the high opinion which his Excellency had formed of him from his former services, and which induced him to appoint him to that arduous station, in a time of such extreme difficulty and discouragement.”

Captain Beaver accompanied his sister to Seaford, in Sussex, to communicate to the afflicted widow her irreparable loss. His manly mind shrunk from the scene of woe ; the anguish of an affectionate wife, and the destitution of a helpless family, spoke too prophetically to his heart ; but he performed the sad office with appropriate delicacy, and, under indescribable emotions, retired again to mix with the pressing duties of life.

He now availed himself of an opportunity to visit Oxford, and pay a debt of the sincerest gratitude and affection to his early friend General Caillaud, whom he had not seen for many years, and who, though reduced to excessive corporeal debility, still retained his mental energy. This visit, however interesting, was of a melancholy tenour: Mrs. Caillaud had been dead for some time, and the old General's eyes were suffused with tears, while he squeezed the hand of a now distinguished officer, whom he had introduced to a profession where honour is both gained and reflected. The topics of conversation were often painful ; for memory generally strengthens the dark shadows of present afflictions, by contrasting them with the bright rays of past happiness.

The intercourse with his relations and friends, and the domestic happiness of his cottage at Swansea, did not slacken our officer's applications

for employment; yet, for several months, he received only replies which prove how affairs are sometimes managed in this “best of all possible worlds.” “Although,” says he to his friend, Sir R. Bickerton, “although on my return from the West Indies, the *Acasta* was found rotten and crazy, her captain, I assure you, did not participate in her defects; I was, therefore, in hopes that I should not, like my ship, be laid up in ordinary.”

Determined at length to apply to the fountain-head, he removed to London, and on the 17th of April, 1810, addressed Lord Mulgrave with such effect, that he was instantly offered the choice of the *Phoenix*, then ready manned, and to sail for the East Indies in six days, or the *Nisus*, a frigate just completed, at Plymouth. As the notice was too brief to avail himself of the former, he preferred the latter, and soon after took leave of his friends and family—FOR EVER.

It is due to the honour of Lord Mulgrave, in recording the prompt decision with which he acceded to the reasonable request of our officer, to insert the letter on which it was founded. “I yesterday came to town for the purpose of renewing, in person, the application which I made in December last, for the command of one of the frigates lately launched at Plymouth. Totally unknown as I am to your Lordship, it may not be impertinent

may, I believe, it is but just, to show upon what ground I prefer such a request, as there are probably numerous and meritorious applicants for the same command. Yet I hope I am not going to embarrass your Lordship with solicitations, which inability to comply with, or previous engagements, render impossible to grant. To be brief, I shall shortly state, that during three-and-thirty years' service, I have never been unemployed in the time of war; that twenty-seven of those years I have borne a commission, and am now in the tenth year of post rank; that during that time I have never been tried by a court martial, never confined, nor have I ever been once asked by any of my superiors, why such or such a thing had not been done. So much for negative merit. I decline dwelling upon the earlier parts of my servitude, that I may the less encroach upon your Lordship's leisure. Soon after I was made a commander, I was appointed assistant captain to the Mediterranean fleet; in this situation I had charge of the flotilla which six times bombarded Genoa; I negotiated for the same place on the part of the British, and came home overland with the documents announcing the event. The battle of Marengo had been fought, and on my arrival, though I travelled from the Elbe in less time than the same ground had ever been passed before, all Italy was

again in the hands of our enemy ; the despatches of which I was the bearer were therefore never published. Returning to the Mediterranean, I held the same situation till the expedition to Egypt, when Lord Keith appointed me his Captain in the *Foudroyant* ; and I was with that officer and Sir R. Abercrombie when the landing was effected. A few months after the late war, I returned to England, and was paid off ; early in this, I was appointed to the *Sea Fencibles* in Essex, where I remained three years ; and during the last three have commanded the *Acasta*. In her I have had the charge of conducting and landing seven thousand of our troops in the expedition against *Martinique* ; and shortly after, about two thousand five hundred at the *Saints*. The ship then being found in a state of decay, was ordered home, and paid off. Had I any idea of not being kept in active service, I should certainly have accepted either the *Abercrombie* or the *Jewel*, both of which ships were offered to me by Sir A. Cochrane, previous to my coming home. From what I have stated, I trust it will appear that my standing as a Captain is sufficient, that my conduct as an officer is unimpeachable, and that the length of my service will justify my solicitation. If, however, I should not succeed, I shall return to my cottage with the sentiments of the Spartan who lost his election as one

of the Ephori—happy that my profession produces so many men of merit and virtue superior to myself.”

The equipment of “his beautiful ship” proceeded under all that hurry with which it has been an absurd system, in our arsenals, to despatch newly commissioned vessels. A consequence of this is, discontent amongst the seamen, who are often drafted from ships arriving off distant stations; and who, in the dirt and nuisance of fitting, can neither hope for the indulgence of leave, nor make the necessary arrangements for a foreign cruize; while the ship itself has generally to be adjusted at sea. Affected dispatch, says Bacon, is one of the most dangerous errors in business that can be; and this affectation of celerity has sent many a ship to sea, in a state highly discreditable to our maritime skill, and the establishments of the country.

On the 15th of June, he writes,—“The Admiral sent for me this morning, and ordered me to be immediately warped into the Sound, though the wind is foul; and I am to be in readiness to sail to-morrow, or at a moment’s notice. I must thus go destitute of everything. I have neither a fowl nor a bottle of wine in my ship; but you know I never make difficulties, and if my orders come, sail I will, although I have not got my traps out of the

sheer-hulk, for my cabin was painted but yesterday. However, up goes the Blue Peter."

On the 22d, this zealous officer sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, and two days afterwards, he mentions a whimsical discovery which had been made by his first lieutenant. "Before sailing, I wanted a lad as an under servant, and my steward, George, recommended me one. Last night this youth was discovered to be a buxom girl, dressed in boy's clothes, a wench of the rascally steward's, who, you know, has a very respectable wife. I have ordered her to dress 'en femme' again, and never to appear in my presence. I shall send her home by the first opportunity; but I am thus deprived of one servant, and have lost all confidence in the other by this abominable deception."

A fine passage of eight days carried the *Nisus* to Madeira, where, having paid a formal visit to the Governor, Captain Beaver remained only a few hours to get a pull at his rigging. "The island is romantically beautiful," he observes, "but the town and the bay, the parts I am condemned to, if I stay, are alike detestable."

On the voyage to the southward, in about 19° west longitude, a sharp look out was kept, and soundings occasionally taken, for the sandy isle, which is stated to have been seen by the *Vaillant*, *Silhouette*, and *Fidelle*, about fifty years before.

These exertions were fruitless: "But, indeed," says the Captain, "I doubt its existence, because it rests solely upon the testimony of the French, and Frenchmen, we know, will sometimes indulge in 'cui bono' imaginations."

The Governor-general of India, Lord Minto, conceiving the great design of clearing the Indian Ocean of all that was hostile to Britain, was alone embarrassed by the reduction of the Isle of France, which was considered as impracticable, either by blockade or force. We shall soon see, that it is characteristic of true genius and courage to act on an accurate distinction between difficulties and absolute impossibilities. And an expedition having been determined upon, notwithstanding all the apprehended obstacles, Captain Beaver had been sent out expressly to conduct the disembarkation. But in the interim, a series of naval misfortunes had occurred in the Indian seas, which being known in London soon after the departure of the *Nisus*, caused no small apprehension at the Admiralty for her safety.

"I arrived at the Cape, on the 23d of August," writes Beaver, "and the morning I went to pay my respects to Admiral Bertie, two officers came in with news of our having taken the isle of Bourbon. This is good—and I have no doubt but its companion will quickly follow its fate. There is no

man-of-war here besides ourselves and the Olympia cutter; so that I have hoisted the Admiral's flag, and am to carry him to Mauritius, which is closely blockaded by his squadron. Troops will there meet us from India, and ere long another jewel will stud the crown of England. It is difficult to assign a reason why this measure has not been resorted to before, for the island has, for many years, nourished a vile nest of buccaneers against our Oriental commerce.

“ October 14. We made the Isle of France on the 2d instant, and hove to before the town, where our appearance seemed to produce considerable bustle along the shores, and on board two frigates and a corvette in Port Louis. But to our utter astonishment, we saw nothing of our own vessels, though we continued cruizing off and on for a couple of days, without any attempt of the enemy to attack us. Lost in conjecture, we ran down to Bourbon to procure intelligence, and being baffled by light winds off St. Paul's Bay, Commodore Rowley, with Colonel Keating, the governor of the island, came on board. Judge, if you can, what a damper we experienced, on hearing the bitter tidings of the loss of all our ships in an unsuccessful attack upon the anchorage of Port Sud Est. What a feather for France! A British squadron to emblazon her naval annals! Thank heaven, our

countrymen did their duty in the hour of mortification; for though we may encounter distress and disaster, we can never endure disgrace. As a counterpoise, we are gladdened to find that, by Rowley's admirable skill, the enemy's ascendancy has been already crushed; the *Africaine* and *Ceylon* have been retaken, and a fine French frigate captured; all by the lucky *Boadicea*. Yet this does not console me for the four beautiful ships we have still lost, and I shall be unhappy if retribution is delayed."

Superior as was Captain Beaver, in ability to conduct a distinguished or arduous enterprise, without undue rashness, he had imbibed all the thorough sailor's contempt for his enemy. Long accustomed to victory over the French, at sea, we scarcely gave them credit for the courage and conduct which they really possessed. Many officers seemed to forget that our triumphs were neither quick nor bloodless. It may be a politic idea to indulge, but an imprudent one to put in practice, that an Englishman can beat several Frenchmen at any time. Some feeling of this kind may have influenced his mind, when on this occasion he hinted to his officers the probability of his having to engage double his force. Such a contingency was, in fact, more likely to happen than could have been imagined; for, on arriving off Port Louis, he

found himself single-handed, and a hostile squadron staring him in the face. With a gallant daring, which must have astonished the enemy, for all the furnaces for red-hot shot instantly began to smoke, he hove his main top-sail to the mast, hoisted his colours, and fired the gun of defiance—the customary signals of invitation to those who may have an appetite for fight; but his spirited invitation was not accepted. On bearing up for Bourbon, he learned that Captain Corbett, in the *Africaine*, had just made the contemplated experiment: he had engaged two large ships off that island, and found the usual effects of undervaluing his enemy; in half an hour his vessel was a wreck, and captured, and himself mortally wounded—in addition to a serious loss of officers and men. Hercules himself, as Pantagruel sagely remarked, never undertook against two at a time.

The “retribution” so earnestly prayed for was not delayed; for, by incessant exertions, five frigates and a brig were ready for sea in ten days, and the balance of naval power restored to our hands. On the 14th of November, they weighed, and proceeded off Port Louis, to the infinite surprise of the French, who had lulled themselves into the idea of being effectually relieved from our intrusive presence. Commodore Rowley watched the enemy, while the Admiral and Major-General John Abercrombie

(who had both embarked in the *Nisus*) sailed to the isle of Rodriguez, to collect the expedition; and as those officers desired all arrangements should be controlled by Captain Beaver, he was removed to the *Africaine* for that purpose, under the following flattering notice from the Commander-in-chief:—"Whereas it is expedient that an officer of rank and experience should be appointed to superintend and conduct the arrangements relating to the disposition of the forces, both naval and military, to be employed in the present expedition; and whereas I have seen fit to select you, as well qualified, from your judgment, for this important service—you are hereby required and directed to take upon you the charge, conduct, and superintendence of this branch of the service accordingly, and to give due effect to all orders, directions, signals, and instructions, you may from time to time deem necessary to issue, the several captains of the squadron, the commanders of the Honourable East India Company's cruizers, and the agents of transports, are directed to consider all such orders and signals as coming from me, and to pay due and prompt obedience to the same." It is no small proof of the high sense entertained of Beaver's merits, that such important duties were always assigned to him, notwithstanding the presence of senior officers.

On reaching the rendezvous, the expected divi-

sions from Bengal and the Cape were not found to have yet arrived, whence, as the season was far advanced, it was resolved to proceed with those of Madras and Bombay only: when under weigh, however, for this purpose, the Bengal forces joined them, making the aggregate strength of the army about twelve thousand men.

What had hitherto been considered as the grand obstacle to an attack on the Isle of France, was the difficulty of finding a proper place for the debarkation of a large number of troops, the whole coast being surrounded with breakers, and the supposed impossibility of finding anchorage for a fleet of transports. But what difficulties are insurmountable to men of resolution? A fit beach was discovered; a good roadstead carefully sounded; and an opening in the surf was buoyed off, sufficient to admit the passage of three vessels abreast.

Light winds rendered it prudent to defer approaching the point of attack, till the morning of the 29th of November, when a fine breeze being auspicious for the landing, the fleet, amounting to upwards of sixty sail, bore down towards Mapou Bay. The subsequent events may be given in this active officer's own words, merely premising, that he had again joined the Nisus, with the General and his staff; and that the complicated details had been managed with such peculiar preci-

sion and clearness, as to meet the most unqualified approbation in both the services.

“November 29. A very beautiful day, and the prospect of the shipping pressing for the scene of action extremely animating. Soon after eleven, we came to between the Gunner’s Quoin and Cape Malheureux, on a bottom of coral, the heads of which were clearly seen through the translucent waves, in ten fathoms. Having anchored, we hoisted out all the boats; but owing to some of the troops, who were to be on the right flank, having been put on board the *Nereide*, which was anchored the furthest to the left, it was near two o’clock before we pulled towards the shore. We then, however, gave way, and landed in a quarter of an hour without experiencing any obstacle, the enemy blowing up the magazine at Grand Bay, and retreating. It was well to be able to disembark and advance without a struggle, for circumstances did not combine as I could have wished. A strong tide had made to the westward, which prevented the flat and heavy boats from preserving the necessary order; but still, better might have been obtained. * * * * * It was, on the whole, very short of what I intended. Our troops formed, and started off for the capital at about five o’clock, except one brigade; and by half past eight, I had landed most of the troops, European and Na-

tive, with all the ammunition, food, and spirits which the General had requested of me. Early associations of ideas are stubborn companions; Johnson says, to abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish if it were possible; and I confess that while we were nearing Cape Malheureux, in doubt whether it would not soon be bathed with British blood, I could not get the imaginary shipwreck of Virginia out of my head."

This disembarkation was a beautiful operation, and entirely of Beaver's management. In this he had had, it is true, some experience; but it was one of those measures which, to be well done, required no common skill and combination of movement. The enemy, indeed, offered no opposition; but this was not known until the last moment, and could not have affected the masterly details which were designed to meet it. An incident at this instant evinced the Captain's presence of mind. While standing in for the place of landing, his boat, which contained the signals whence the others were to receive their orders, was swamped by the rapid towing of the ship, and the contents were totally lost. This seemed a most untoward accident, and with many would have been irretrievable, but it scarcely disconcerted him. Such was his fertility of resource, that in fifteen minutes new

dispositions were made; the troop ships, with the men of war ordered to cover them, anchored in their assigned positions, and the flotilla conveying the soldiers moved towards the shore, a magnificent and imposing spectacle.

“ On the morning of the 30th,” continues the Captain, “ considerable trouble and some confusion arose from disembarking sepoy, pioneers, and artillery at one spot, when I had expressly directed another. About eight o’clock Colonel Smyth’s brigade, which had covered the landing, moved forwards, and at the same time I received the General’s desire to attack any assailable point, and open a communication with him. The army, he said, had marched through the woods without encountering any force but a piquet, which was routed; and that all hands were in high spirits. Shortly afterwards, the Admiral ran off Port Louis; I weighed at ten, and in passing, saw with pleasure the union jack floating over Camoniere fort. At half-past one, I anchored to the eastward of bay Tortue, and observing French colours flying, sent the first lieutenant, with a strong party, to take possession of the batteries; a service accomplished without any loss, as the enemy retreated with such precipitation, as to throw down the lighted matches without discharging the guns.

“ December 1st.—At dawn of day I perceived

a column of our troops near the works: they had been despatched to cover the right flank, by occupying them, but finding us already there, were enabled to rejoin the main body; and the communication being thus secured, I immediately sent a day's provisions for twelve thousand men. A cannonade soon after commenced from the enemy's lines, on a hill a-breast the ship, as our soldiers advanced, which, though pretty brisk for a time, totally ceased at half-past nine. I found the advanced guard had had a sharp brush with the enemy, who were strongly posted, but were forced to retire, leaving two guns, some tumbrils, and a few wounded men behind them. The weather was uncommonly fine, but the troops complained of a grievous want of water.

“ December 2d.—All our boats were employed in landing and transporting provisions for the army; and the seamen on shore were eminently useful in dragging the cannon over apparently insurmountable obstacles. The General came on board and breakfasted with me, after having enjoyed a shave and a clean shirt: he was well satisfied with affairs on the whole, for the enemy had receded with each of our advances, and the only stand they made scarcely merited the name of a skirmish. Between nine and ten o'clock, a flag of truce came out of Port Louis; and after

much extravagant bravado and insolence on the part of Governor de Caen, the Isle of France was surrendered by capitulation, on the 3d. I wish I had been of greater consequence at this moment; the terms were rather demanded than supplicated, and are far too advantageous for such an undeserving and inferior garrison. These are the fellows, who not only treated their prisoners with unusual severity, but added the disgusting insult of confining males and females indiscriminately in a common room. A boat of mine having been captured on the 5th ult. besides the whole being exceedingly ill treated, the coxswain was horse-whipped, and another of the crew was thumbscrewed, of which I officially informed the Admiral. They wished to retain four frigates and two corvettes, with their officers, crews, guns, and stores, as cartels! and they are actually allowed to march with their arms, their eagles, and fixed bayonets. Is not this too much? What can justify such concessions? 'Oh!' cry out some people, 'these honours are of no real importance; they are only trifles founded on opinion.' But is it not to the influence of opinion that the French owe more of their conquests, than to physical strength? Will any one be found hardy enough to rise in the House of Commons, and move for a vote of thanks on this occasion?"

It may be due to General Abercrombie, to add, that he was induced to grant favourable terms, from what he deemed a regard to the interests of the inhabitants of the island, who had long laboured under the most degrading misery and oppression; from a desire of sparing the lives of many brave officers and soldiers, and a consideration of the late period of the season. But this liberty awarded to the French troops was the only point on which he had not closely adhered to the instructions of Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India.

The Isle of France, which was by far the most important of the enemy's possessions in those parts, having thus surrendered, a British garrison of 5000 men was left for its protection, and the colony again assumed its ancient name of "*The Mauritius.*"

Scarcely had the ratification of the treaty been signed, ere the long-expected division of two thousand men arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, and their chagrin and disappointment at finding the enterprise already accomplished, will be easily imagined, by all who have been on similar service.

Port Louis now presented an indescribably lively bustle, and though rather disorderly, must have formed a picture of the highest interest. "Early on the 6th," observes Captain Beaver, "I ran down off the Port, where we anchored in eleven

fathoms, and made the signal for a pilot to take us in. Every ship, whether man of war, or transport, without order or regularity, seems determined to force inside, and the mouth of the harbour is completely blocked up by shipping of all sorts and sizes; some of which, as might be expected, are on shore. Every kind of mooring is snapped up, whether good or bad, adequate or inadequate, for the seizer. The four French frigates, which were moored for defence across the entrance, are still suffered to remain in the same station: such confusion, such gross neglect, I never before witnessed."

"December 7th.—We warped into the harbour, and took up our mooring chains; there are already near us ten other English men of war, besides four Company's cruisers, a great many transports, Indiamen, and smaller vessels; and, moreover, six prize frigates, two corvettes, and thirty other captured craft. A gale of wind would destroy every vessel; why were they not ordered to remain outside, where there would not be a hundredth part of the danger? If one ship should catch fire, it is most probable that the whole fleet would be destroyed, and the town also."

In a letter detailing some of these events to his sister, Captain Beaver remarks, that the only army officers of rank who fell, Colonel Campbell and

Major O'Keefe, were friends of his lamented brother, and had both been, the morning of the event, on board the *Nisus*, to seek his acquaintance. To another correspondent, he hints at the contempt which had been shewn by the French for the usual laws of war, in their functionaries having given up their public stores, and the plunder of the *Indiamen*, to be secured by individuals as private property, when the loss of the colony became probable. "Some of these worthies, already professing an inviolable attachment to our government, are craving candidates for situations under it; and our official men are so partial to the pageantry and subserviency of having foreigners in their departments, that there is no doubt of their gaining something. But when the moment arrives, they will certainly deceive us; for such warm professions to strangers must be equally as delusive and insincere as the smile on the face of death."

Beaver spoke with a frankness equally suited to his natural, and incidental to his professional character; and, sensible of his own integrity, he feared the frowns of no man. Indeed, his openly expressed opinions on this occasion are said to have given umbrage in a certain quarter, and to have cooled the praise which would otherwise have stamped the mental and bodily exertion he had endured in so enervating a climate. But however

reluctantly encomium may have been extorted from some, it appears that the Admiral could not have been one of the dissatisfied; for he not only warmly expressed his high opinion of our Captain, but left him senior officer on the station, as a reward for his fatigues. Obligated frequently to have men of high rank, with their staff, on board, Captain Beaver entreated to be permitted to draw for the trifling allowance generally accompanying a broad pendant: this, although inadequate to his expenses, would have diminished the accumulation of debt, in which the very nature of his distinguished services necessarily involved him; but the request was unheeded.

An order of the 8th was couched in the following terms: "His Excellency General Abercrombie, having represented to me the great advantage the public service has derived from your very able and judicious arrangements, in the disposition and debarkation of the troops for the attack of this colony, and solicited your continued superintendance of the military measures, as connected with re-embarking the soldiers for India, I am, therefore, to direct that you continue to superintend this service accordingly."

Early on the 5th of January, 1811, a vessel was seen standing towards the port, on which occasion French colours were hoisted, and she was decoyed

sufficiently near for the boats of the *Nisus* and *Illustrious* to surprise her, and secure the despatches. She proved to be the *Mouche*, and it appeared from the papers thus captured, that *De Caen* was recalled, and that three French frigates, with troops and supplies for the colony, were to sail from France, in fifteen days after the packet. On this intelligence, *Beaver*, now appointed commodore, stationed his squadron of three frigates and two sloops to apprize him of every occurrence, but remained himself in the port, to carry on the requisite duties. These now gave him such constant employment, that the correspondence with his friends slackened very considerably; and though the letters to his family breathe the same manly and affectionate tone, they are evidently written with more hurry than usual. "I have never omitted," he writes to his wife, "one night since leaving England, to pray most sincerely to the Almighty, to preserve you and the dear children in health and happiness—health, that first of blessings!" To another, in mentioning the death of an acquaintance, of whom he had not the highest opinion, he observes, "Poor fellow! he was always with a bee in his bonnet, from a conceit that he had the faculty of comparing, combining, and deducing effects from causes. I wish this had been his most harmless assumption. But perfec-

tion is not the attribute of mortals, and we should forget his failings; may they be buried in his grave, and mercifully pardoned by a benignant Deity.

“ February the 4th.—Ever since the 30th of last month, the weather here has been unsettled, generally blowing exceedingly hard from E.N.E., the sun scarcely ever seen, and the rain pouring in heavy torrents. Two days ago I observed, for the first time, an uncommon surf at the harbour’s mouth; yesterday it had increased, and this morning the sea seems to break nearly across it. About seven, we saw two brigs standing in, one evidently commanded by a seaman, the other by a lubber. A little after eight, the one steered skilfully through the swell, and anchored in safety without any assistance; the other rounded the outer buoy, but with her topsails ever lifting, and her yards slackly braced, it soon became apparent she could not weather the shoal. She blindly stood on, till finding her error, she clewed all up, and let go two anchors, at which moment a boat I had sent to her assistance nearly reached her, but the surges were too violent to admit of approach. A few minutes only then elapsed, for the waves taking her, first on the quarter, and then on the broad-side, completely rolled her into the surf. Her anchors and masts were now cut away, and she kept beating and driving over the reefs; the poor

creatures on board were in agony and despair, and what powerfully heightened the excited feelings of the spectators, was the circumstance of a lady on board imploring that relief, which it was now impracticable to afford. About eleven o'clock, the vessel had forged to a part where the breakers were less furious, and at noon, by the most strenuous labour, a boat got alongside, and boldly took out the female, and some of the people. On landing, it happened that an army officer, attracted by curiosity to the spot, pressed forwards to look at the sufferers, when the first object which struck his sight, was the unexpected appearance of his wife, just rescued from a watery grave! It was impossible to refuse a tear to this meeting. By the inimitable conduct of the officers and seamen who volunteered, the last of the crew were saved by four o'clock, and the vessel shortly after went to pieces—two men only were drowned.”

Commodore Beaver had now planned an expedition against the fortress of Tamatave, in the island of Madagascar, which he had proposed to execute in person; but Governor Farquhar made an official request for the *Nisus* to remain. He therefore despatched Captain Lynne, of the *Eclipse*, under the following instructions: “From an urgent solicitation on the part of the government of this island, not to leave it without a frigate, at a period

when succours from France are likely to arrive, you will take the *Staunch* gun-brig under your orders, with the *Duchess of York* transport and *Farquhar* schooner, and proceed forthwith to *Tamatave*, which, as a dependancy upon this colony, you will by virtue of this capitulation summon to surrender, and in case of resistance, forcibly take possession of the same. In fulfilling these instructions, you will most strenuously avoid giving offence to the natives, and take especial care to distinguish between their property and that of the French establishment." The result, though successful in its object, gave infinite concern, by the extent of the subsequent disaster; for, except the *Eclipse*, every vessel perished by stress of weather.

From peculiarly dense clouds on the summits of the mountains, the recession of water in the harbour, the agitation of sea birds, and other prognostics, *Beaver* had been led to expect one of those awful storms which occasionally desolate the tropical regions. Rather than trust even the massy mooring chains to which he was riding, he put to sea, accompanied by the *Astrea*, to meet the expected commotion on fairer terms, than if caught at anchor. "March 19th.—Strong gales and squally; made every preparation for worse weather: handed the topsails, and sent top-gallant masts on deck; got the spritsail yard fore and aft,

ran in the jib-boom, swifted the rigging, and clapped the fore-runners to the weather-cat and knight-heads. Towards evening, the wind blew tremendously hard, when we furled the foresail, battened down the hatches fore and aft, and made every thing snug. The morning of the 20th presented a terrific appearance, for the gale had increased with such violent gusts following each other in rapid succession; the atmosphere impenetrably thick, looking as if it could be cut with a knife, and a violent deluge of rain falling. In the afternoon the tempest moderated, and the wind veered gradually, point after point; it had commenced at S.S.E., and it ended at N.N.W., so that the ship's head being east on the starboard tack, at the beginning, was lying west, on the same tack, at the end of twenty-four hours. Had the storm suddenly shifted, or fallen, we must have been dismasted, and I expected it, as it was, although I never witnessed so little sea with such furious blasts of wind. The waves could not rise, for the squalls cut off their tops and forced them along in thick drift, resembling heavy rain. I never felt it blow harder than on this occasion, but the water being thus comparatively smooth, the vessel was steadily pressed down, with less labouring than could have been looked for; nor did she ship other water than spoundrift and occa-

sional good-natured slaps over the weather gang-way. I was under some apprehension for the fate of the *Astrea*, yet, relying upon Schomberg's seamanship, hoped for the best; it was therefore with sincere joy I saw him about noon of the 21st, looking quite snug, and apparently but little hurt in the elemental strife."

The little damage sustained by these two frigates was certainly owing to the knowledge which anticipated the violence of the expected commotion. To each of those commanders might be applied the well-known lines of poor *Falconer*:—

“ His genius, ever for the event prepared,
Rose with the storm, and all its dangers shared;
And though full oft, to future perils blind,
With skill superior glow'd his daring mind,
Through snares of death, the reeling bark to guide,
When midnight shades involve the raging tide.”

Two branches of public duty were now solicited by the colonial government, and as they were both of an urgent nature, the Commodore felt himself bound to compliance. Yet this was one of those bitter points of service, which probe the well-disciplined officer to the quick; for he was obliged, in obeying the requisition, to relinquish his long-cherished hope of meeting the expected French frigates, after his anxious look out of three months. The first object was the capture of the *Scyelles*,

a cluster of nearly twenty islands and rocks, all dependencies of Mauritius, and absolutely necessary for some of her commercial purposes. The other was, a request to procure treasure in India, for an enormous quantity of pice, or copper coin, which had been put into circulation from the captured Indiamen; and this was the more essential, because an attempt which was made to establish a paper currency had proved abortive.

A singular incident occurred just as they were quitting the harbour:—“John Herring, a youth of eighteen, was discovered by the master-at-arms crawling into one of the tiers; he being supposed to have jumped overboard and been drowned, on the 4th of November last. For five months had he secreted himself in the main hold, unseen by any person whatever; during all which time he subsisted upon what he could nightly steal out of the mess kids and bread-bags between decks. His supply was, of course, precarious, and he says he was once five days without eating, though he could generally procure water. When detected diving to his hiding-place, he had two bags in his hand, one full of biscuit, and the other of onions, which he had just stolen. He could crawl pretty well, but stood with difficulty; he was unable to walk, and being very weak and emaciated, would not probably have lived many days longer. The

mainhold of the ship, during the time of his hiding, has never been worked, for we got our water at the fore, and provisions at the after hatchway, which accounts for this sculker's retreat never having been suspected."

On duly informing the Navy Board of this curious recovery of a person long since discharged *dead* on the books, it was decided that he had virtually deserted the service, though he remained in the ship concealed; and that therefore he should be mulcted of his pay and provisions for the time.

The *Nisus* sailed from Port Louis on the 4th of April, with a favourable breeze, and soon after passing the Galega Islands.—“For several evenings we observed an uncommon change in the appearance of the water, as if it had suddenly become shallow, with a chalky tinge. A cast of the deep sea lead was taken every hour, but we never got soundings, nor could we detect any thing in the water, which we repeatedly drew up and examined during our passage across this ocean of milk. The time was usually between seven and eight o'clock, with a clear and serene atmosphere; and as I cannot give the slightest solution of this very singular phenomenon, I trust somebody else, better qualified, will.”

They gained sight of the Seychelle Islands on the 17th of April, but for several days baffling

currents prevented their approach, to the great annoyance of the Commodore, who strained every nerve to accelerate the service which he was upon. At length, on the 24th, the ship took up a commanding position, the marines were landed, and formal possession taken of Mahé, under the usual salutes on hoisting the British flag. Lieutenant Sullivan, who had been severely wounded at the isle of France, was established as Governor; and other arrangements being made, Beaver remained but two days to wood and water, and then hastened onwards for Madras.

On this occasion he took the degree and a half channel, which, though scarcely known, is wide and safe, and saved nearly a thousand miles of route. "Having been but little in India," he remarks, "I had never heard of this channel, till a gentleman at Seychelle gave me a manuscript chart, by which it appeared to be about fifteen leagues wide; I therefore determined to take it, in preference to the eight degree one. On the 6th of May, at day-break, being in the latitude of $1^{\circ} 26'$ north, our chronometer gave exactly $73^{\circ} 30'$, east longitude; and we soon afterwards saw the palm-trees of Adumatti, one of the Maldivé isles, from the mast-head. We passed them fifteen or sixteen miles distant, and never saw the land to the southward, though the weather was very clear.

I should therefore pronounce the passage to be spacious, and most eligible for ships that are bound to the Bay of Bengal, in the S.W. Monsoon.”

On the 14th of May, the *Nisus* anchored in Madras roads, where the whole shore exhibited evidences of recent devastation, and the beach was literally strewed with the wrecks of every description of vessel. In answer to the earnest inquiries of the Commodore, it was stated that a storm of the severest description had commenced on the eastern quarter, on the 2d instant, which reached its acme of violence about midnight, at which time the general distress, both on shore and afloat, was indescribable. The atmosphere seemed charged with electric fluid, which incessantly darted in vivid flashes, while angry blasts of wind, torrents of rain, and a peculiar rolling sea, known only on that devoted coast, conspired to render it a scene of the utmost awe and horror. Large trees were torn up by the roots; doors and windows, however barricadoed, were forced open, and the buildings injured to a serious extent. But in the roadstead, the effect of this visitation exceeded all description; a hundred and twenty ships and vessels either bilged or foundered, and were all lost! It was providential that the expedition against Java had sailed two days before, or the whole armament, comprising the squadron of India, twelve Com-

pany's cruizers, and sixty transports with twelve thousand soldiers on board, must have perished. Fewer lives were lost than could have been expected, considering the extent of the calamity, and that numbers of the country craft went down at their anchors; but neither the *Dover*, frigate, nor *Chichester*, store-ship, which were stranded, lost a single man: such are the benefits resulting from systematic discipline, even

“ When hostile elements tumultuous rise,
And lawless floods rebel against the skies.”

Eager to rejoin his station, the Commodore lost no time in embarking three lacks of pagodas, which were given in return for the pice, or copper coin, and he gladly quitted India on the 23d, with the ardent hope of yet being in time to intercept the three French frigates expected from Europe. But he had to endure a tedious and anxious passage; and about a fortnight after they were at sea, it was discovered that by a nefarious stratagem of the Purser's steward, the ship had only been victualled with ten weeks provisions instead of four months. This obliged him to reduce the ship's company to half allowance; and even of this pittance a great portion was almost useles, from the depredation of vermin. At length, on the 27th of June, they arrived at Port Louis, not only with their food

reduced to half a day's ration, but the wine and spirits had been finished a week before.

The mingled emotions which seized our zealous officer, on nearing the port, may be imagined, when he beheld two fine French frigates riding across the harbour, thereby announcing that the event which he had so ardently sighed for was accomplished by another. His wonted liberality, however, shone brightly conspicuous through his disappointment. "I have been wretchedly unfortunate," he remarks, "in being absent, when the arrival of the French squadron would have given me an opportunity of showing to the world of what materials I am made. However, I presume not to repine—whatever is, is right. I cannot be accused of pecuniary regret, for I share with the captors; my feelings are stung for my two boys, as they can only have, for their inheritance, whatever name I may form in the service of my country. This mortification is partly compensated to me, by its having given an opportunity to two of my favourite friends, Schomberg and Hillyar, to distinguish themselves. I exult in their success, and hope their decision and merit will meet the proper reward." And in forwarding the despatches addressed to him by the former, he generously remarks—"To the conduct of that zealous and intelligent officer, Captain Schomberg, on this occasion, I can only give

the tribute of my unqualified praise; and of the manner in which he was supported by the estimable Captain Hillyar, I must express myself in the same terms. But I regret * * * In this battle, the officers and crews of the *Astrea* and *Phœbe* fought most bravely; and have reflected credit on their country, by an additional instance of the superior gallantry of its navy."

It appeared that early on the 7th of May, the expected French frigates were discovered by the *Phœbe*, *Galatea*, and *Racehorse*, two comparatively small ships and a brig, who alternately chased and were chased by the enemy. Our squadron edged away towards Port Louis, where they gave intelligence to the *Astrea*, which ship was nearly prevented from joining them, by the very unusual phenomenon of a strong sea breeze setting in; the animation inspired by the vicinity of the foe, however, overcame all difficulties, and she was warped out amidst loud cheers. The enemy unavoidably gained this time to make off, and it was difficult to say towards which quarter; but Captain Schomberg, finding by a boat which had communicated with the shore, that they were in want of water, judiciously concluded that Madagascar would be the place to seek them. The hard-fought action which ensued, and the capture of the *Renommée* and *Néreide*, each of forty-four guns and four

hundred and seventy men, besides troops, are ably set forth in that officer's official letter to Captain Beaver, which being published in the gazettes of the day, requires no further comment, except to lament that a greater unanimity was not displayed in so splendid a cause.

The third ship struck her colours, but afterwards basely escaped; she was called the *Clorinde*, and was of the same class with the other two. When she got into Brest, her Commander was dismissed the French service, and ejected from the Legion of Honour; he was moreover sentenced to three years' imprisonment. On his passage to Elba, on board the *Undaunted*, Buonaparte expressed to Captain Ussher his high opinion of Schomberg's bravery, in attacking such heavy vessels with his six-and-thirty-gun frigates. "I did my utmost," added he, "to have St. Cricq shot, but he was tried by French naval officers! Had he done his duty, the English squadron must have fallen into our hands." And such was the inveteracy of his indignation, that, finding on his return to France that M. St. Cricq had been restored to his former rank by Louis XVIII., the Usurper ordered him to be again confined, and he consequently continued in prison during the memorable hundred days.

To an officer, battle is the chief stage on which he must exhibit, in order to attain brilliant cele-

brity; but this arena, for which our hero ardently thirsted, happened to be, on a grand scale at least, denied to him. He regretted his ill fortune, as he termed it, with a fervour which no one could mistake. There was nothing like bravado in this; nor is there in general when a similar sentiment is expressed by more ordinary persons. Men who have reputation, honours, and sometimes wealth to acquire on the one hand, and but the risk of loss of life on the other, will always run the latter against the former. It is, with many, a professional feeling, almost independent of courage. In the keenness, therefore, of his disappointment in not commanding on this occasion, he exclaimed aloud, "Freely would I have given my right arm to have been there!" "And," says Mr. Prior, the surgeon of the *Nisus*, "we, who knew the man, had no doubt of the readiness with which he would instantly have made the sacrifice."

Commodore Beaver had scarcely anchored, before he received a secret communication which determined him to repair to Java, and assist in the reduction of Batavia, with such force as he could collect. He therefore ordered a slight refit with the utmost expedition, working day and night; and from the want of stores, they were obliged to recur to various contrivances, in all of which he displayed the resources of a seaman. "The late action

with the enemy's squadron," says he, in a letter to Commissioner Shield, "has left us without a stick, or a fathom of rope; and to enable us to go to sea, I am obliged to make the latter by cutting up cables. This ship will proceed, with two others, on most important service, and yet I shall set off without a main-topsail, except one that is more than half worn, not an inch of rope, nor a morsel of junk; and all the running rigging fairly worn out. My companions are in no better state; one is without a spare topsail yard, and the other with numerous shot-holes, and all her masts fished."

In a valuable communication which I received from Mr. Prior,—who, since his voyages in the *Nisus*, has become so well known to the public by his acute and comprehensive *Biography of Burke*,—that gentleman observes, "On points of service, our Captain would scarcely admit the existence of, what many were disposed to think, impossibilities; but, at the same time, with that clearness which belongs only to men of superior capacity, he would not only order what was to be done, but also point out the most safe and expeditious method of accomplishing it. Without neglecting details, on which often depends the success of operations in war, and of which he was perfect master, his mind was more turned to great things. It seemed to expand with the quantity of matter required to be taken in."

When fitting the squadron for Java, with only two or three days to perform it in, and one of the ships just out of action ; stationing some of the remaining ships at the Mauritius, and others at the Cape ; writing orders and despatches to several quarters ; waited upon every moment, by officers of all classes, for directions how to proceed in their respective departments ; teased with applications of various kinds, on public business, from persons on shore ; added to the responsibility which he assumed, of quitting his station, hanging on his mind ; yet I never saw him more cool, clear, and collected, though scarcely able to devote five minutes uninterruptedly to any one object."

By unceasing attention, the *Nisus* was enabled to leave the harbour on the 2d of July, in company with the *President* and *Phœbe*. To effect a good passage at this season, it was necessary to run far to the southward ; and from the wounded state of the *Phœbe's* masts, they could carry but little sail, which impediments prevented their arrival in time to be present at the landing of the army in Java.

"At seven in the morning of the 6th of August," says Beaver, "we made the west coast of New Holland, and running along shore at an offing of perhaps a dozen miles, we perceived some very formidable breakers, in mid-distance. These we had passed about noon, and then closing the land, found it mo-

derately high, but without a vestige of tree or shrub of any kind, being all of a quaker-like drab colour, except when broken by dingy cliffs. A more barren, uninviting land I never beheld; so having set the N.W. cape, we gladly bade adieu to Australasia. Robertson, in a Memoir on the China Sea, criticises Nicholson's latitude, as being forty-six miles out; I call it $21^{\circ} 50'$ south, which is as much to the northward of the critic's! And what if some person hereafter shall point out my errors, as greater even than those of Mr. Robertson?

“August the 13th. We are now running through the Straits of Balli, all my charts of which resemble just as much as they do the Sea of Marmora, and no more. The shores are highly picturesque, with groves of tall cocoa-nut trees in full verdure; there are hundreds of boats swiftly crossing in all directions, though the current is very rapid, and the whole forms a scene capable of filling the most insensible hypochondriac with life and animation.”

When the ships reached Batavia roads, on the 20th of August, they found Admiral Stopford riding there, with the fleet: the city had been taken on the 9th, and the enemy driven into the fortified entrenchments surrounding the post of Cornelius. The marines of the *Nisus*, and those of her consorts, were immediately landed, and marched to the position which was occupied by our forces, where

their assistance was both timely and welcome, for sickness and fatigue had already made inroads into the general strength.

On the 22d the enemy made a sortie from Meester Cornelius, and drove our seamen from the works, on which they were mounting guns, where, by some mismanagement, they were both unarmed and unprotected. The Dutch, however, did not keep possession five minutes, being beat out again, before they had time to spike a gun. Both sides kept up a heavy cannonade till the 26th, when that formidable fortress was stormed. The attack was made at dawn of day, by a select column, after a masterly detour, in utter darkness, through a thick jungle. So secret and silent had been the march, that the foe was surprised, and completely routed at the point of the bayonet, in little more than a quarter of an hour; leaving a thousand killed in the works, besides the multitudes who were cut down in the retreat. This entrenched camp was defended by a chain of redoubts, mounting one hundred and seventy-four guns, and defended by nearly twelve thousand men, of whom, besides the slain, three generals, two hundred and fifty officers, and more than five thousand soldiers, were taken prisoners.

A curious case of naval law now occurred. Captain Heathcote of the *Lion*, being ordered for trial, on charges preferred against him by Commo-

dore Broughton, Beaver was appointed the president, and the court was directed to assemble on board the *Nisus*. But a demur was started by our inflexible officer, as to the legality of his sitting in that capacity, having been addressed as *fourth* in command, whereas, the 22d of George II. only authorizes a commander-in-chief to nominate to the *third*. This objection being made known to the Admiral, produced the following explanation: “Although Captain Heathcote has not been actually superseded from the *Lion*, he is virtually so, the moment he appears as a prisoner before the court. I have therefore no objection to alter the address of your order as president, and instead of *fourth*, insert *third* in command; as you certainly rank next to Commodore Broughton during the trial. And I have to thank you for detecting an informality in style, which I had overlooked.”

The principal part of the enemy's force having been captured or destroyed, in the successful assault of Meester Cornelius, by the British troops, on the 26th, Admiral Stopford intended returning to the Cape of Good Hope, but both his Excellency the Governor-general of India, then residing at Batavia, and Sir Samuel Auchmuty, commander-in-chief of the forces, entreated him to remain, it being desirable to bring the contest to a speedy conclusion, as the future resources of the foe were

unknown. Upon these suggestions, the Admiral waived his first intention of quitting the station, and prepared for immediately proceeding to Súrabáya.

A man of Beaver's known judgment and gallantry could not remain long without marked distinction, even in so large a fleet. Accordingly we find that, on the 31st of August, he was detached with the *Nisus*, his two consorts, the *President* and *Phœbe*, and the *Hesper*, to attack *Cheribon*, *Taggal*, and *Samarang*, and to cut off the enemy's retreat from *Meester Cornelius* to the eastward; services which the Admiral, in officially reporting to have been performed by these ships, pronounces "of the greatest importance to the ultimate result of the campaign." The strength of the squadron was increased by the marines of the *Lion*; and a party of well-disciplined sepoys, whose courage and fidelity had already been well tried in India. Arriving off the first point of attack, the Commodore sent a summons, couched in spirited and efficient terms, giving the garrison five minutes to consider them, and threatening signal retaliation, should the least injury be done to the public property in the mean time. The subsequent events may be given in his own words:—

"September 4th.—At daylight I sent Captain Warren with a flag of truce to summons the fortress, and immediately afterwards got the squa-

dron under sail, and ran into three fathoms and a quarter water. At half-past eight, I had the satisfaction of seeing the French colours hauled down, and the old British union hoisted in their place. I now disembarked one hundred and eighty marines, and just as they reached the shore, Warren learnt that General Jamelle, the enemy's second in command, had arrived with a few troops from Bugtenzorg, and was procuring horses to continue his disastrous retreat. Not a moment was lost in securing him, and, together with some other officers of rank, he was instantly conveyed on board the *Nisus*. I found, on conversing with them, that part of the fugitive army might be hourly expected. I therefore landed one hundred and fifty seamen, in charge of three lieutenants and six midshipmen, to garrison the fort, and thus leave the marines at liberty to act as occasion required. This fort is a square structure with four solid bastions, surrounded by a wet ditch, and strengthened by a stout abbatis beyond the glacis. It is defended by twenty guns; and to enfilade the principal approaches, I moored three armed launches in the river. Without sustaining any loss, we have this day made one hundred and thirty-six prisoners, of whom few are Europeans: I merely disarmed the Malays to their kreeses, and ordered them to their homes, there to await in quiet the

issue of the contest; assuring them, that if again found as enemies, they should instantly be hanged. Poor devils! what interest can they have in our struggles for mastery?

“September 5th.—My men complain bitterly of the filthy state in which they found the interior of the fortress; it seems a mass of dirt and abomination. I have sent orders to release the unhappy beings who were found in its horrible dungeons; they may have been guilty of capital offences, but a week’s confinement in the castle of Cheribon would expiate any crime. Captain Robison reported to me, that at Carang Sambang, a place upwards of thirty miles distant, a large depôt has been established for the enemy’s stores, and that they were then collecting their scattered forces. As Cheribon was now secured, I determined to summons that place, for which purpose I placed all the marines, and seventy seamen, under the command of Colonel Wood. Away they started with cheerful alacrity, for they were nearly all mounted, blue jackets as well as red,—a mixture of naval cavalry and horse marines; whilst the repeated falls of some, who at length preferred finding their way on foot, excited the highest merriment. These jokes, however coarse, help to cheer the toils of war, and the oppressive heat of the climate to boot, for the thermometer ranges from eighty-three to ninety degrees.

“ September 6th.—A well-appointed troop of Dutch cavalry halted at Cheribon ; we were immediately in attendance, and they were as quickly disarmed. Various other prisoners were made in the course of the day, so that the occupation of this post seems to have been of material use. The seamen manage the castle very well, considering the novelty of the duty, for Jack does not make a very stiff sentry. One of the miserable wretches restored to light yesterday, expired with overpowered feelings, and it is feared two others cannot long survive. Having been waited upon by a party of native chiefs, whom I received with all due ceremony, I have concerted measures for sending a particular account of the recent events to the Emperor and Sultan of Java.

“ September 7th.—A party of seamen and marines brought in thirty prisoners and nine waggons laden with money, which they had taken near Bongas, a place half way between this and Carang Sambang : Colonel Wood and his detachment had entered the latter placé, and secured all the stores, spices, and coffee, in the public magazines. This is capital, considering the nature of his good-humoured forces, and that he is in the midst of the enemy’s resources. In the afternoon the *Modeste* anchored, with Sir S. Auchmuty on board, who expressed himself highly pleased with

our progress. I told him that I found by discoursing with our captive French General, that it was Jansen's intention to concentrate his force at Samarang; where he had been joined by Prince Prang Wedona, and a well-appointed legion of two thousand men. Sir Samuel, on this information, wished me to assist in the operations against Samarang, so soon as I should be able to quit Cheribon, and capture Taggal. To second his views, I instantly dispatched the *Hesper* off point Indermaya, to collect all transports that were making for the Manara channel; and I sent other vessels in various directions, to apprize the men-of-war of the General's intention."

The seamen and marines now returned on board, and the result of their several enterprizes cannot be better expressed than in the official report of the 11th. "I have the honour to inform you, that the last party of marines returned from Carang Sambang late last night, and were embarked on board the *Nisus* at one this morning. I have thus re-embarked every seaman and marine of the two hundred and thirty-nine whom I landed on the 4th instant; after having made about seven hundred prisoners, including one general, two lieutenant-colonels, one major, eleven captains, forty-two lieutenants, and above one hundred and eighty non-commissioned officers

and privates, Europeans ; the rest being Creoles and Malays ; without having had a single man either killed or wounded ; and I am happy to say, with very few sick indeed, and those chiefly from great fatigue, whom, I trust, a few days will restore to their wonted vigour. And although it has not been our good fortune to have had it in our power to do any thing brilliant, yet I hope that having been able to secure so great a proportion of the enemy's officers and European troops may contribute, in some degree, to the speedy reduction of this important colony."

The health enjoyed by the crew of the *Nisus* was alike creditable to both the commander and the surgeon ; for while the latter applied to precautions strictly medical, the former established a very judicious system of internal regulations for the ship, which were rigidly enforced in those places where the safety of the men was likely to be particularly endangered. No boats were then permitted to leave the ship after sunset, nor any person, except under particular circumstances, to sleep on shore. During the hours of rest, the men were kept strictly to their hammocks, from an impression that the night dews of the tropics are frequently productive of disease ; for seamen, sooner than endure the heat below, will, if left to themselves, run any risk by sleeping in the open air.

In the morning, the 'tween decks were cleansed, cleared of moveable articles, and thoroughly ventilated the whole of the day; the men, meantime, living and taking their meals on the gun deck, so that in the evening, when their hammocks were piped down, all was cool and refreshing preparatory to their repose.

In addition to Captain Beaver's excellent precautions, I trust it will not be deemed irrelevant to mention a practice which I have myself adopted, as being evidently attended with benefit. Upwards of twenty years ago, I belonged to a line-of-battle ship, which, just before my joining her, had been nearly disabled by disease and death, on her passage from Batavia to Madras. On clearing her hold at Bombay, the ground tier of casks was found imbedded in a feculent mass of putrid mud! This palpable source of remittent fever did not excite much remark at the time; but I determined, should I ever arrive at the command of one of his Majesty's ships, never, from neglect, to suffer the nuisance of a foul hold to contaminate her. With this resolution, I have always had the shingle ballast washed before stowing it; and water was regularly admitted into the bilgeways, until that which was pumped up became as transparent as the sea alongside. And to these practices, under Providence, I mainly attribute the superior health of

my people, for a period of upwards of ten years in the Mediterranean sea.

Previous to sailing for Cheribon, the commander was called upon for certain papers by an army officer, who considered himself entitled to the same, in quality of agent to the Governor-General of India. Beaver was irritated, and returned a reply highly characteristic of his temper: "In my public capacity," says he, "I never permit my conduct to be affected by individual feeling; were I to act from the latter, the former would frequently suffer. Now, Sir, one great cause of my anger towards the landroost was, being unable to get vegetables supplied to the ships under my orders, and yet finding them charged in the returns; for which, but for your intercession, I would have clapped him into the fort. With respect to the horses, a receipt for which has now, for the first time, been demanded, I know not what authority you or any human being whatever has to demand it. In themselves they are of no value or importance, and there are only two in each ship, I believe; but to these I, and the other officers, have as much right, as to the coats we wear on our backs, and have paid for. I myself, with a few marines, made the thirty troopers, whose horses we took, lay down their arms; and I fixed on my horse, before the enemy who previously

possessed it had dismounted. It is mine by right, and no man shall have a receipt for it; every thing captured at Cheribon has been in consequence of my measures, and performed by the force under my orders; accounts therefore are due to me, and me only."

On the 12th of September, being off Taggal, the Commodore ordered the *Phœbe* to take possession of the fort and magazines, after which he stood on for Samarang. Here he found that the enemy, having witnessed the destruction of their flotilla by the boats of our fleet, had retreated towards Súrabáya, where the Admiral determined to pursue them. On the 18th, the whole force anchored in the Manara passage, and on the following morning, "at half-past three, the troops and marines of the squadron began to assemble round the *Nisus*, and exactly at daybreak, they all landed at Zidayo, in an orderly and very creditable style, with two field-pieces, and a detachment of artillery. When they had marched off, along a fine road for Gressik, I went with a flag of truce to summons Fort Ludwyk, which, it was at first planned, I should attack with the frigates, but that it appeared so formidable as to threaten much effusion of blood. On my approach, I was blindfolded, and conducted I knew not whither; but from the panting and stumbling of my sup-

porters, found the way was of difficult access. When within the keep, I was restored to sight, and found myself surrounded by a numerous party of Dutch and French officers, to whom I opened my mission. My eloquence, however, was not sufficiently persuasive, and finding my representations without effect, I submitted to be again blindfolded, and returned to the Admiral.

“September 20th.—Little pleased with the ill success of yesterday, I went at dawn of day to reconnoitre the fortress from the island of Manara. I landed at Zidayo, and breakfasted with the Dipatty, who furnished me with a carriage and four horses, and sent his chief minister as my conductor. We drove rapidly to the Soloo river, about seven miles distant, where there is a ferry sixty yards across; here we embarked on a platform supported by two canoes, and paddled down to Badantin, a village on the left bank, where the river was stoccadoed across. Proceeding thus, we arrived at the entrance in an hour and a quarter, but the mouth was so closely stoccadoed, that I was obliged to get into a canoe about eighteen inches wide, to pass between the stakes, and so make for Manara. I landed at the back of the island, near a spot directly opposite the fort, unperceived by the enemy, and by the aid of a native's hut, had a fair opportunity of observing

the enemy's works. This insulated castle was erected by Daendels, on piles and rocks, after Sir Edward Pellew's attack at Gressik, and completely defends the northern entrance of the channel. It appeared in excellent order, and I should think mounted nearly a hundred guns, which are planted principally along the north and east sea-faces; the west front seemed the weakest and most exposed. As there did not appear anything like a bomb-proof, and the channel being about one thousand two hundred yards wide, I concluded it could be reduced by shells, and accordingly marked out a spot for a mortar battery. Having satisfied myself on this head, I returned the way I came, and got back to Zidayo a little after three, where the Dipatty had provided an excellent dinner. Our conversation turned upon a terrific monster of an alligator, which we had accidentally stumbled upon, basking in a creek of the island. This surprising animal was at least six-and-thirty feet in length, with a rotundity of belly larger than that of a horse. I learned that these unsightly brutes are not greatly dreaded by the natives; but for myself, never having seen anything approaching its size, and being in a diminutive and fragile canoe, I confess I had some respect, and therefore kept my distance."

Súrabáya had already capitulated to the force

under Captain Harris ; and Ludwyk would probably have speedily fallen to Beaver, but that all operations were suspended by the defeat of Jansens, and the consequent surrender of the whole island. This blow having destroyed the French dominion in the East, the services of the frigate were no longer required ; she therefore passed through the Straits of Sunda, and returned to the Isle of France. Previous, however, to his departure, the Admiral wrote a public despatch highly approving all the Commodore's proceedings, and congratulating him upon his success ; while in a private letter he says, " your prompt and effectual measures produced the happiest results in accelerating the final fall of Java."

Information having been received that reinforcements were on their way from France to Batavia, the Nisus left Port Louis on the 21st of November, to endeavour to intercept them in the Southern Indian Ocean. Approaching the volcanic island of St. Paul, a boat was sent into the crater, and speedily returned, laden with seals, fish, and birds. The crew found that five huts had been erected on the north side of the entrance, in which were seal-skins, and sea-stores, with the following paper carefully deposited in a bottle.

" Ship Venus, of London, A Whalar, 3 of June 1811 Uriel Bunker Master stoped here 84 days from london Bound to timour, and Here found 8 men on the island Left by their ship Being cast

ashore wreckit the ship fox, from Port Jackson on a skinning voyage William Cox master Left here 4 months aGo with 8 of his hands the ship as Carryied him would not Cary any more—he Left a lettar with his men to beg no person or persons will by no means carry of any of his goods or artekels he leves here As he will Come And get them as soon as he Can get A vessel he will Come And take away his skins And Every Artekell Belonging to his vessel the ship was honed By Camel & Co port Jackson Newsouthwales or new holland.”

An exact copy of this luminous production was transmitted to Lloyd's, as a means of consolation to the relatives of those who navigated the Fox; and the original was carefully replaced amongst the skins and “artekels.”

“This island,” says Beaver, “is represented as eight or ten miles in length, but at the very utmost does not exceed four. It is tolerably high, and clear of danger; but as to fixing its situation astronomically, we scarcely had a fair sight of sun, moon, or stars, during the twenty-two days we stood off and on. From the prevalence of clouds, fog, and wind, I never anchored, or ventured into less than forty fathoms water; and owing to the same causes, we had little prospect of prizes, for we did not perceive a large ship, under English colours, apparently an Indiaman, till she was pretty close to us; and it then blew so hard, with so wild a sea, that we could not attempt to board her. The boats had ten fathoms close to the crater, but the water on the bar varied at each visit. Fish

are abundant, and so voracious as to bite instantly at the hook, whether baited or not. The whole island is a rugged volcanic crater, with scarcely an appearance of vegetation, excepting mosses, and coarse grass in the clefts; otherwise it would seem to be condemned to everlasting sterility. Seals resort there in numbers, and it is the occasional abode of the albatross, penguin, and stormy peterel, that dread of superstitious sailors. We did not examine Amsterdam, not having approached nearer than eight or nine miles, on account of the squalls and hazy weather. It is more precipitous and high, and appears equally barren, but rather less than St. Paul's, from which it is distant about seventeen leagues to the N.N.E."

In the beginning of the year 1812, the *Nisus* extended her cruize to the southward; and the journal remarks,—“ We were told that from the latitude of $37^{\circ} 20'$ s. the *Telemaque* brig made a true course s. by w. two hundred and twelve miles, when she found herself on a shoal, which the commander made out to be in $38^{\circ} 11'$ by account. This not satisfying Mons. Petrie, he re-computed the brig's data, and found she must have been in $38^{\circ} 50'$ s. ! Precious bunglers ! In either case there is an error of at least one hundred and fifty-six miles in latitude—an error without example, and for which the name of the navigator ought to be gibbeted in disgrace.

“ But notwithstanding this lame conclusion, reports are so numerous, that one can hardly doubt the existence of a reef or bank in this neighbourhood ; though it would be more creditable if people would take the trouble to ascertain facts, previous to their propagating reports, which are likely to alarm navigators unnecessarily. Those who choose to follow our log courses, will see that I took some pains in examining the southern position assigned to this danger : we could place reliance on our chronometers, tried deep soundings, and kept men at the mast-head diligently looking out for the slightest indication of shoal water. But on the whole, I have no hesitation in declaring that, in the vicinity of latitude $40^{\circ} 27'$ south, and longitude $21^{\circ} 57'$ east, from Greenwich, the *Telemaque* shoal does not exist.

“ Two small islands called Denia and Marseven are placed near this position, but upon whose authority I know not ; and therefore endeavoured to ascertain the fact of their existence. The incoherent account of the *Telemaque* navigator would, if it were believed, indicate an island near their assigned situation. But in the course of our cruizing in every direction, we paid particular attention over an extensive space, and tried frequently for bottom with a very long range of line. The weather was fine and clear, yet no indication of land

appeared ; I therefore hauled to the northward for the Cape, being fully satisfied that where all our charts have placed Denia and Marseven, those islands exist not."

In a letter from the Cape of Good Hope, under date of the 21st of July, Captain Beaver breaks forth with,—“ The Cape may be a capital colony, but its bay is an infernal one ; it is safe against no wind, and its sea is worse than the wind. You have generally a great swell, and even in the fair season, the s.e. winds frequently blow so strong, that you have no communication with the shore for two or three days together. But a north-wester, after the middle of May, shows Table Bay in all its malignancy ; and he who is fool enough to anchor there of his own accord, may either part or founder as luck shall befall him.

“ I regret the trouble you have had, but there are numbers who find it difficult to combine discipline with kindness, which accounts for old * * * being at variance with all his officers sometimes, and with some at all times. He who has never learned how to obey, cannot be well fitted for command ; and those who are most captious with their superiors, are ever tenaciously rigid in exacting submissive obedience from their inferiors.

“ We have just received on board a dusky personage, named Barrak Kumba Bombaxak, commonly

called Bombay Jack, a Johannese, who has been deputed by the king of the Comora islands to the Cape, to solicit assistance against the marauding natives of Madagascar. He is good humoured and intelligent, and is moreover dignified with the title of the Johannese ambassador. I am charged to convey his Excellency, and his suite of two servants, back to their native shores: after this I am to counsel the governor of Mozambique respecting the aggressions of the Malagassi; and then I am to advise the coal-black kings of Madagascar to refrain from their depredations on our pusillanimous allies. These missions will relieve the monotony of the last several months; for I have only been examining a water-course, and other equally *important duties*. I have had to represent several of our deficiencies, such, for instance, as bringing beef for the squadron from England, when it can be prepared here at a quarter of the expense. It came to my lot also to conduct a very disagreeable and delicate inquiry into the conduct of an English officer and his men, on French evidence; and, indeed, it was too clear that outrageous and disgraceful conduct had occurred. Admiral Stopford, in a public letter, has obligingly said, that ‘the mode of investigation I used was the best that could be adopted for ascertaining the facts.’ ”

The water-course, so slightly mentioned, was a

work of considerable public utility, being so constructed as to remedy a great inconvenience which had always ensued in supplying ships with that requisite article. Captain Beaver's report was so clear, that all his suggestions were immediately adopted, even to the number of trees for decorating it. "The service," says the Admiral, "at all times receives benefit wherever you are employed; and your work at Simon's Bay bears the stamp of a masterly hand. I perceive you do not like to do things by halves."

The passage of the *Nisus* along the east coast of Africa gave Captain Beaver an opportunity of exercising his talents in hydrography; and he corrected the positions of various points and islands, with a skill which afforded further evidence of his proficiency, both in the theory and practice of the higher branches of nautical science.

From Mozambique, he writes:—"August 19th. In the evening I paid a visit to the Governor, which lasted about an hour; yet he never mentioned the subject of my coming, although he had been in possession of the Admiral's letter full three hours, and reads English very well. But what appeared to me still more extraordinary was, his omitting to enquire after either Portugal or Spain: one would have supposed that he had forgotten there was a portion of the globe called Europe;

or that he was totally indifferent whether the country of his birth yet retained its independence, or was devastated by a relentless enemy. This man, Don Antonio Manoel de Mello Castro e Mendoga, has just completed the third year of his government; and has never once, I was assured, gone out of his house, or exposed himself to the sun, for fear of fever, during the whole time. Notwithstanding this indolence, it is stated that he has contrived to amass a fortune of three hundred thousand piastres, with which he is about to depart for Madeira, having been recently appointed governor of that island; in reward, I presume, for his hard services at Mozambique. But what are wealth and honour, without the impulse of virtuous principle to merit them?

“ I eagerly seized this opportunity of making inquiries concerning Messrs. Cowan and Donavan, who left the Cape about four years ago, with an intention of reaching Mozambique by land. The Governor informed us that there was no doubt of their having been murdered, in their waggon, at a place between Sofala and Inhambana, about forty leagues from the coast. He also assured me, that he had used every endeavour to procure whatever journals, letters, or other papers might have been with their effects; and for that purpose he had sent twenty blacks, with goods to purchase or redeem

them, but without success: some blood-stained linen only was procured. He added, that two mulatto natives of Angola had found their way across from that country to Snea on the Zambeze: being frequently made prisoners, they were five years in accomplishing it; but returned safely to Angola, and were the only persons who had ever crossed from the one to the other coast of Africa.

“ 20th. The Governor having been silent yesterday on the subject of my orders, I paid him a second visit this morning, with a view of extracting what I could relative to the Malagass aggressions, and the aid he required or expected from us. All I could learn was, and that with great difficulty, for it was solely in replies to my questions, that the Malagassi generally came over every year, to the number of four or five thousand men, in about a hundred canoes; that they always assembled at Bambatouk, whence they stood, with a leading breeze, over to Mayotto, and landed at whichever of the islands they hit first. Sometimes, he said, they pass them all, in which case they stand on, knowing they cannot miss terra-firma; and wherever they land, they burn the towns, make slaves of the inhabitants, and kill the cattle. After loading themselves with booty, they return to Madagascar with the first fair wind. On asking, whether they ever ventured in sight of Mozam-

bique,—‘Oh, no!’ replied he; ‘they know our power too well.’ Its insularity has preserved it from continental enemies; but I have no doubt, if these dingy buccaneers would muster courage to try, they would soon have the town, for the military would abandon it, and retire into the fort. Come I dare say they will, for the itch for plunder increases by practice into an inveterate habit, and is inflamed by success, to multiplied efforts, and harder exertions. He said he had asked for two English corvettes, but they had not arrived.—‘Well,’ said I, ‘can you suggest any mode by which I can execute my orders to assist you? If I go over and see their kings, will not that be of use?’ ‘Oh no! now is their time, if they come at all this year.’ In short, such total apathy to the happiness or interests of those placed under his protection I never beheld. All I could collect was, that my going to Madagascar would be useless, unless I could see all their various kings and chiefs in a given period. I therefore took leave of the Governor, resolved to waste no more time with such a drawling sloth.

“I acquired some important knowledge from two French gentlemen here, as to the existence or non-existence of various islets, reefs, and banks, around Madagascar. From one, Monsieur Sausse, who had navigated in these seas during the last

thirty years, I learned that at Quiloa, spars of all sizes, fit for masts and yards of line-of-battle ships, were to be procured in great abundance, and very cheap ; and that they were, to use his own expressions, ‘ légers comme les Riga, et bien flexibles.’ On requesting a specimen of this wood, to carry to the Admiral, he replied, that he had none but his own masts, to which, however, I was welcome, provided I made others. Taking him at his word, I changed his fore-top gallant-mast, and at the same time engaged him, if the Commander-in-Chief should think proper to send transports for spars, to pilot them to Quiloa, and purchase the sticks that might be required.

“ 21st.—I intended to sail at daylight, but the wind being rather scant, and the ebb having made, the pilot thought it dangerous to break the ship loose. A dense cloud of very peculiar form appeared to precede the sea breeze, but, on inquiry, I found it was rather a fortuitous circumstance, than a characteristic phenomenon.”

Detained by this circumstance, Captain Beaver, accompanied by a party of his officers, visited the Musreel river, at the bottom of the bay, and the government gardens near it. He then continues his narrative thus:—“ Reflecting the whole day on the importance of the supply which I had heard of, to the Cape station, I determined to visit

Quiloa, from Johanna, myself, and prevailed upon Monsieur Sausse to accompany us. If his statement be correct, I purpose receiving on board whatever spars may be ready cut; and to enter into a permanent contract with the king of the country. But, if the Frenchman has deceived me, my credulity will only add one more to that class of people, already so very respectable in point of numbers, called dupes.

“ Of the harbour of Mozambique, it is useless to add any thing to the admirable plan of it by Mr. Inverarity; nothing can exceed its truth and precision, and by it any stranger may safely carry his ship into the port.

“ The defence is a square fort, with bastions and outworks on projections of the rock, and, at the time of its construction, must have been formidable; but it is now dilapidated, and has neither bombproofs nor casemates. There were about fifty-seven brass guns mounted, and twenty unanimated embrasures; the ordnance was old, and of all sizes, from a forty-two to a four pounder, with most of their carriages decayed; nor have they any iron shot for those above nine-pounders, several stone balls being placed near each gun in lieu. The fort is large and roomy, and has good quarters for its garrison; this at present may consist of about live hundred men, of all colours

except white: in short, the Nisus would make nothing of it. But notwithstanding its fallen condition, it retains an air of magnificence, and is a proof that the Portuguese were once a great and enterprising people: and even in ruins, it is worthy of the Gamas, the Almeidas, and the Albuquerque of other times.

“Elephant’s teeth, gold-dust, gums, and cowries, sustain a languid commerce; and the free people of the once mighty Mozambique, counting white, black, and yellow, scarcely exceed a thousand souls. I did not ascertain the price of food here, but boys, about eleven years old, were to be bought for ten dollars each! Villanous traffic! Every thing else is neglected: all is ruin, and dirt, and devilment; for, as Bombay Jack observes, in his characteristic, though simple style, ‘Portugee hab too much black wife; he no work, no fight, no do nothing.’”

Bombay Jack, from an honest shrewdness of remark, and his strong attachment to every thing British, had become a general favourite in the frigate. But one of his companions, having less confidence in the professions of those around him, actually became insane, under the absurd impression that the sailors sought to devour him.

A fine breeze wafted the Nisus to Johanna, in two days, when the Captain continues thus:—

“ August 25th.—Having landed the sable ambassador and his two attendants, I this morning paid a visit to King Allawah, and was received with more ceremonious honours than are customary, owing to Jack’s report of the liberality of the Cape government. Most of our illustrious admirals and statesmen, or rather their namesakes, ostentatiously paraded before me; and, that no mistake might occur, as to who was Howe, or Rodney, or Pitt, they wore copper tallies of their dignity on their breasts. After a very formidable broadside of compliments to the English nation, King George, and myself, his Majesty proceeded to inform me, that his arch enemy, the dissolute and potent Queen Vaheeni, of Bambatouk, was dead; and the Malagassi were waging intestine war relative to the succession, which would relieve Johanna for that year. He trusted, he said, in future, to our interference; ‘but,’ added he, ‘if they do continue their hostile incursions, I must quit the island; I cannot live here with my lands desolated, and see my women and children perish with hunger; and, if I leave it, all my miserable people will follow me.’

“ August 26th.—When the King came on board to-day, I presented him, from the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, with one hundred muskets, bayonets, and belts; ten barrels of pow-

der ; ten thousand ball cartridges ; and five hundred flints. From the Admiral, I gave him two brass swivels, with two hundred rounds of cartridges ; and I added from myself, two brass wall pieces, a quadrant, a compass, and some minor articles. I also presented his uncles, sons, and chief men, with muskets, flints, and powder, which, with a salute of nine guns on their quitting the ship, seemed to give infinite satisfaction.

“ The bay is extremely fine, and the gradual rise of the verdant hills, from the base to the summit, being visible from the anchorage, gives an additionally striking effect.

“ With an admirable climate and fertile soil, Johanna ought to return a richer produce, for excepting cocoa-nut oil, rice, and refreshments, nothing is particularly attended to. It is an excellent place to water, wood, and refresh at ; there are plenty of oxen, but no sheep, swine, horses, or asses. Of the charges I know nothing, for the King would not suffer us to pay for any of the bullocks, fowls, yams, plantains, or maize, with which we were abundantly supplied ; a step that prevented me and my officers from laying in our private stock, as we had intended, for finding we cannot evade the civility, we will make the burden as light as possible on the poor public. Indeed on discovering the resolution of Allawah, I had

made up my mind to decline the favour altogether ; but our grateful friend, Bombay Jack, with eloquent importunity, fell on his knees, earnestly begging I would permit him to shew his esteem, to those who had given him ‘ ebbry ting.’

“ The best anchorage is opposite the middle of a cocoa-nut grove to the westward of the town ; which last is of irregular form, and walled round, with square projecting towers at short distances from each other. There are loop-holes for musketry, and a few swivels ; but the principal defence seems to be in the stones piled up to throw on the heads of assailants. The walls are about two feet thick and fourteen high, and consist of stone slightly cemented ; they are, however, sufficiently strong to repel the attacks of the Malagassi. The town stands on the border of the sea ; and a small rivulet from which it is supplied with water, runs close by, but outside, its western wall. The whole is commanded by a couple of hills, from which an enemy, merely with musketry, can destroy every person who appears in the street ; these hills the Malagassi occupied, when they besieged the town about fifteen years ago, and thereby prevented the inhabitants from appearing abroad, or procuring water in the daytime. But so soon as want of provisions obliged that improvident and merciless people to raise the siege, the Johannese built a

castle of twelve small guns on the nearest hill, which they surrounded with a high wall, having a communication with the town by means of an enclosed steep flight of steps. It is miserably constructed; its walls are any thing but perpendicular; its guns are good for nothing; and it would be commanded by cannon from the other hill; but as no cannon are likely to be brought there, it may be deemed a good personal protection—though they must annually witness the savage devastation of their herds and their fields.

“The town of Johanna may be about a mile in circuit; the whole space within the wall is completely occupied with houses; the streets are only from five to seven feet wide, and present nothing but blind stone walls to the passenger. The population cannot be above two thousand souls; and there is only one more town on the island, which is about the same size, though not so populous. Of all the other numerous towns and villages, which studded this island six-and-twenty years ago, when the Malagassi first became acquainted with it, through the romantic Benyowski, not one remains. Those ferocious marauders have stormed and burnt them all. But I must not here enter on the subject of the Johanna wars, though I have collected ample materials; nor on the iniquitous conduct of the betrayers of the gallant Count,

of which I know more, perhaps, than any other person in the world. How could such a man as Rochon be led to sully his pages with such atrocious falsehoods! It has not only been my fortune to meet many persons who knew Benyowski, the captain, and the supercargo who ran away with his ship; but at Mozambique I conversed with, and wrote down from the mouth of the very person who bought the *Intrepid*, the particulars of that treacherous transaction. I hope at a future day, in my half-pay cottage, to restore this mutilated narrative to its proper proportions; and with the torch of truth to expose the villany of those, who, by the barbarous murder of an adventurous nobleman, have so deeply injured the cause of humanity in these benighted regions."

When the period for sailing approached, Allawah and his subjects regarded the departure with despondency; for by an Arab vessel which arrived, it appeared that the civil wars in Madagascar had terminated—from whence they foreboded an attack at no distant date. As Beaver's instructions were specific, he could only regret the apparent danger; but he took leave of the king, and honest Bombay Jack, with a sympathy which was felt by all the officers and crew of the frigate.

From Johanna, the *Nisus* stood over to the African main, and made Quiloa, after a passage of

four days ; the consequent occurrences will be continued from the journal. “ August 31st.—In little more than an hour after leaving the ship, I arrived at the town, where the heads of the people awaited us. To my great disappointment, I found the king was at Mongallon, where we yesterday observed Arab flags flying ; and what was yet more mortifying, an acute and intelligent minister, Missago, who had long transacted the affairs of the king, was dead, and his place supplied by a stupid, inactive old man. However, to this person I stated the object of my visit, and received for answer, that there were no spars ready ; but that, as he expected the king back in about a week, I had better defer making an agreement. Now, as I intended to remain only a couple of days, I desired him to send people to cut a dozen large trees next morning, for which I would pay him handsomely. However, after much waste of words, all that I could procure, was a promise to furnish me with men to show me where the trees grew, and to assist in getting them down.

“ At dawn of day, September 1st, I left the ship in my gig, with the barge and large cutter, having the carpenter and all his crew, with axes and cross-cut saws ; and off we went to attack the timber. Our ardour was damped on landing at Quiloo, for the miserable old minister swore he had been un-

able to procure us any guides, but would endeavour to have them by the following morning. As I had resolved to sail the day after, I told him I should proceed alone, and that I would cut what I pleased, without leaving any thing for the king, as was my first intention; I also asserted, that he was betraying the trust reposed in him by his master, by depriving him of a handsome revenue from his forests; for which, if he did justice, on his return, he would strike off the offender's head. So saying, I went down to the boat, well aware of the freedom I had used, but also well practised in the mode of acting with such people. And it had some effect; for Mr. Sausse, who remained behind, soon prevailed on Formo Sani, the king's son, and eight others to accompany me; so that we left Quiloa at about eight o'clock.

“ Our guides took us up the southern channel of the northern branch of the sea, which washes one side of the peninsula opposite Quiloa. A fair wind and flood-tide carried us rapidly by the mangrove-clad shores, to the appointed place, in two hours and a half; but as we loitered for some time to shoot hippopotami, I should take the distance to be no more than thirteen or fourteen miles. Here I pitched two tents, and leaving six men with the boats, who were armed to defend themselves against lions and leopards, I went with the rest

about three miles inland, to a thick brown forest of stunted wood. Here, the natives told me, we might cut away, and down came three trees; the largest was a couple of feet in diameter, and forty-nine in length; straight as a poplar, but leafless, and without branches till near the head. A small stream of fresh water, into which the tide flows, runs at about forty yards from them, down which I proposed to exploit them to the principal stream; but the tide being already high, it could not be done to-day. As the weather was intolerably hot, and conceiving these sticks sufficient for a sample, for fear of laying up my people, by exposure to the sun, I returned with them to the boats, and left the shore at three o'clock.

“ We saw various animals; but the monkies amused our men the most: some, which I thought wild hogs, the natives called bango, and said they were of a different species. I might have mistaken them for tapirs, had I not recollected that these are met with only in South America: others, which appeared very large in the distance, and were at first thought to be elephants, we were told, were neither horses, nor cows, nor deer, and were named poonda. We also passed by the remains of a rhinoceros and a lion; whilst antelope tracks, as well as those of the small spotted leopard, called tiger in this country, crossed each other in all

directions. The haunts of the hippopotami were incredibly numerous, and we fired many fruitless shot at groups of these monsters; before the first fire, they permitted us to approach tolerably near them, but afterwards became shy, and dived instantly. By six we got back to Quiloa, when the minister promised to send a sufficient number of men, to launch and bring down our sticks. On this better acquaintance, I complied with his earnest and reiterated request, to leave him a pair of topmast studding-sail halliards.

“September 2d.—After breakfast I went to Quiloa, taking with me Mr. Sausse, to enter into some agreement with the minister relative to supplying a cargo of spars, as a trial; and to leave presents for the absent king. On arriving at the old rogue’s residence, we learned that nobody had gone to launch or tow down the spars; at which I indignantly upbraided him; and convinced that no faith was to be placed in any of his promises, I reclaimed the studding-sail halliards, and turned abruptly from him. Before daylight next morning, I embarked one hundred of my own men, and being met by Forma Sani, and some guides, we soon reached our destination. The largest tree, with considerable labour, we launched into the creek, when, to my great mortification, it sank like a stone! Here, then, our hopes were blasted, our

time lost, and our toil thrown away! All that I had now to do, was to return as quick as possible to the ship, for the heat had been intolerable, and our exposure constant. Picking up stragglers occupied us till dark, when I returned to the barge, many of the people not having tasted any thing since five o'clock in the morning.

“We had abundance of Hippopotamus shooting when going up. One monstrous fellow was on shore amongst the mangroves, but we were unluckily on the opposite side of the river; on pulling directly for him, he gazed steadfastly for a minute, and then made straight through the mud for the water, in spite of the fire of at least a dozen muskets to prevent him. These animals seem capable of carrying a great deal of lead and iron, for besides being evidently struck with a ball in the head, I think it likely he had several in his carcase: however, as he did not reappear above water to snort, for a quarter of an hour, which all the others had done in a much shorter time, I think it probably that he was killed, and sunk. They were generally in groups of from three to seven, though in one place there were about twenty young and old; the smallest being about the size of an ass, and the largest between that of the buffalo and the elephant.

“Between nine and ten at night we got back to

Quiloa, heartily tired, and merely stopped to land Forma Sani and his men; but learning that the king had just arrived, I sent all the boats except the gig on board, and went with Mons. Sausse to pay him a visit. Here fresh vexations awaited me. His Majesty appeared peevish and sullen; he was sitting in a long hall, with seats around, on which were forty or fifty armed men. I congratulated him on his *safe* return to his capital; but it was easy to perceive that my words were not well taken. I then entered upon the subject of my anchoring at Quiloa, and he captiously promised to load a ship with spars, remarking that those he should cut would float well enough, because he knew which to choose. He then rose and retired, desiring Mons. Sausse to follow him, and leaving me in rather an embarrassing situation; but when I feel in the right, I care for nothing; I therefore gave my armed associates stare for stare, and determined to put the best possible face on the matter.

“ In five minutes, the King and the interpreter returned, and I was exceedingly mortified, as much as surprised, at learning that, on his passage here, one of my boats had pursued his, fired into her, and killed two of his men; moreover, that the same boat had attacked another, in which was his brother, Solimani, though fortunately without

killing any one. I protested that the treatment which he had received was to me incomprehensible; and, although it had been my intention to sail very early, I would assuredly remain a day, on purpose to do him justice. I therefore requested he would produce the dead bodies on board the *Nisus* the next morning, with the vessel which had been fired into. He promised to come off with the dows, but as to the bodies, when he found they were dead, he threw them overboard, for they were merely slaves for traffic. I insisted that the act of hostility against him was unwarrantable and unpardonable, and as to the slain being slaves, the life of no human being was to be trifled with, for the ball which slew them might have killed him; a truth he seemed perfectly alive to. I then left him, and reached the ship at midnight, after, for this climate, a most severe day's work.

“The second lieutenant, who had been left in command, informed me, that seeing three dows coming round the point, towards the evening, he had sent an officer to examine them, and that they not bringing to, he had continued chasing and firing at them. Now one of these dows had Arab colours, and another an Arab pendant flying: we knew the King was expected from the southward every day; and it scarcely required sagacity superior to that of a brute, to

discover at once, that these were his vessels. That the officer committed murder, and deserves condign punishment, I have no hesitation in declaring ; but when we consider, that at the time of his wanton attack on these semi-barbarians, a hundred of the crew, unarmed, except as requisite for security against wild beasts, were more than twenty miles from the ship ; language is insufficient to express my indignation at his conduct. Suppose the King had been killed, what could have prevented their exercising a just retaliation, by cutting off all our party ? Their open hostility I should never fear ; but in the unguarded confidence of peace and friendship, we might, through this treacherous and silly act, have been sacrificed. Thousands of lives in more civilized countries, have been frequently lost by less provocation, and with less apparent justice.

“ September 4th.—About three in the afternoon, Yousoufou, the King, came on board, when I sent the first Lieutenant, and one of the mates, to examine the hull and sail of the dow, which the bullets from the boat had perforated. Their report was, that there were several holes in the sail, and that a shot had certainly gone through the stern ; a considerable quantity of blood was seen on one part of the deck, and on a matted seat in another, which were pointed out as the places where the

two men had been killed. At this moment, I was so earnestly solicited by all the natives, to take no further steps in the matter, especially as only two *slaves* were lost, that, to get rid of their importunity, I gave a promise, which released myself, as well as others, from the unpleasant dilemma.

“ After the customary civilities, and when the astonishment of the Sultan (for that is the title which he affects, rather than that of King) at the size of the ship, had somewhat subsided, which was not for a considerable time, I again entered upon the subject of a contract for spars. As he readily assented, I drew up one, consisting of only four articles ; and his secretary, Bona Feebo, immediately translated it into Arabic, with a facility, and so much like a man of business, that I was perfectly astonished. I then made the Sultan a present of five barrels of gunpowder, and twenty muskets ; with about half a dozen more to his relations, or attendants ; and on his leaving the ship a little after five, as happy and as satisfied as I believe any man possibly could be, I saluted him with nine guns.

“ Several of the officers having requested my permission to purchase, and of course liberate, each a boy ; and conceiving that, in allowing it, I should be not only doing an act of incalculable benefit to the lads in question, but also furthering

the intentions of the British legislature, I sanctioned the measure. The prices varied from twelve to seventeen dollars, and having vacancies, I put the purchases on the ship's books, as boys of the third class."

The ship was now ready for starting, but, as contrary winds detained her till the 10th of September, an opportunity was thereby afforded of learning further particulars of a place formerly powerful and rich, but hitherto so little known by us, that, with the exception of a brig, the *Nisus* was the first British man-of-war which had rode in its waters. "The harbour," says Captain Beaver, "is very difficult to make, on account of the lowness and general sameness of the coast; but it can be entered without danger at high water, as the reefs and banks are easily distinguishable from aloft. It may be said, that the Isle of Quiloa forms two harbours, as there is only a shallow channel between them; the southern of these is a magnificent port, capable of containing, in perfect safety, an immense fleet. Which of these should be chosen as an anchorage, must depend on the state of the monsoon for egress, for they are both equally secure for ships of the largest size. The island of Quiloa is too small and too low, to have any natural run of water, the inhabitants, therefore, are scantily supplied from wells. Wood is

every where to be had in abundance ; but stock and refreshments, except plantains, tamarinds, and cocoa-nuts, are both indifferent and scarce.

“ When Vasco de Gama first visited these regions, the kingdom of Quiloa was the most potent and extensive on the eastern coast of Africa ; Almeida, the first Portuguese admiral, who actually anchored in the port, was presented with an extract of its history, containing a regular succession of its monarchs, from Ali, the founder, to Ibraim, the then reigning sovereign, a space of four hundred years ; and they have continued their records to the present hour. The extent of its territory, though far inferior to former times, is by no means contemptible ; it comprehends the sea coast, and islands, from Delgado to Mombaz, a space of six degrees of latitude. About thirty years ago, the Imaum of Muscat conquered the Quiloan state of Zangibar, where he has ever since maintained a garrison ; and as other parts were successively overpowered, Quiloa itself submitted to receive an Arab governor. Still the royal dignity and succession remain undisturbed in the ancient Moorish family, as the Imaum is satisfied with receiving a fixed annual tribute. Yousoufou, who traces back his ancestry for upwards of seven hundred years, seems to derive but little permanent revenue from his realms ; and although indisputably acknow-

ledged as sovereign of the whole, the duties between him and his subjects seem more the effect of habit than coercion. Despotism, whether usurped or hereditary, is alike detestable ; yet it will not be denied, that a ruler without authority is a solemn mockery of human institutions.

“The island of Quiloa has been the royal residence, with a few exceptions during dissensions, from the foundation of the monarchy. It is about three miles in length, by two in breadth, low, and very fertile ; it is placed longitudinally across the mouth of two deep bays, leaving an opening at either end of it, and thus forms the two secure and noble harbours which I have mentioned. When the Portuguese first visited this island, its capital was described as large, opulent, and well built ; having stone houses of several stories, with terraced roofs, protected by a citadel, adorned with stately towers, and surrounded by a ditch. But the present town, if town it should be called, consists merely of a number of huts, scattered from the margin of the sea, to a mile from its shore ; the glittering white of only two stone houses enlivens and embellishes the cocoa-thatched metropolis. One of these, a spacious, but irregular and low building, is occupied by Yousoufou ; the second belongs to the King’s brother, Solimani. On the N.W. point stands the Fort, of an indifferent

rectangular figure, having a round tower, and embattled walls, with loop-holes for the discharge of musketry, or arrows; three small guns are mounted, and two of them pointed at the King's house. In this miserable work resides the Arab garrison of about a dozen men; who keep the place in awe. I observed the remains of solid walls and various buildings in better style; but insufficient to recall its former reputed magnificence. There is only this town on the island; though habitations are scattered all over the cultivated parts; and its population appears to be between five and six thousand souls.

“The inhabitants are an indolent, pusillanimous, inoffensive people; many of whom, from their commercial connexion with Mauritius, Bourbon, and Mahé, speak the French language tolerably well. They are accused of being what the French term ‘fin,’ which is not to be wondered at, considering who have been their European tutors, and that the intercourse has been merely a traffic in human flesh. Of the English, the Quiloans scarce know more than the name; and what they know, they derived through the French, who cannot, I believe, be justly reproached for representing the British nation in too favourable a light. They feel, however, very sensibly, that we have diminished their wealth, by closing the channel

through which it flowed; for they see that the Gallic power is annihilated in these seas, and that the odious trade in slaves is abolished. They have a general and just impression that we are no triflers; but the English character cannot yet be very popular at Quiloa; and it is to necessity I may assign Yousoufou's so readily concluding the contract with me. Their timber, their wax, their ivory, and their tortoise-shell will be a more rational mode of directing their commerce, and replenishing their coffers, than the desolation of families;—darkness should always give way to light.

“Notwithstanding these apparently unfavourable circumstances, I see no difficulty in sincerely attaching this people to the British: Yousoufou, I know, wishes to drive the Arabs off his territory, but without some powerful protection, is afraid of consequences. He, however, makes silent and cautious preparation, and has several cannon, with small arms and powder, concealed in his house: even the muskets and ammunition which I gave him, he landed in the night. Now, to fix, to rivet the affections of the Quiloans, I would, at the written solicitation of the Sultan, put the Arab governor and his garrison into a boat, and send them to Muscat, with this message to their master—‘That the Sultan of Quiloa, having entered into a treaty of amity with the British nation, had complained

of the great grievances suffered by his subjects, from governors appointed by the Imaum of Muscat; and requested its aid to prevent the same;—that the British had therefore, at the entreaty of their ally, seized those who had dared to infringe on the independency of Quiloa, and returned them to their native country; determined in future to guarantee the rights of Sultan Yousoufou.’ After this message, I am inclined to think we should hear of no more Arabs at Quiloa; and for thus rendering him independent, all I should require on the Sultan’s part, would be, a scrupulous fulfilment of the contract I made with him; that is, that he should supply us annually with four hundred large spars, for which he should regularly receive the stipulated price. Do this, I say, and the Quiloans will be attached to the British for ever.”

Whilst the Nisus remained at Quiloa, a party of the officers, consisting of Lieutenant Stopford, Mr. Prior, the Surgeon, and a midshipman, landed for a day’s sport; expecting to find abundance of antelopes and birds. The spot they chose, was discovered, to their cost, to be an island, at high water; and the channel which, in order to penetrate inland, they with labour and difficulty crossed at low water, through deep mud and a tangled net of mangroves, became perfectly impassable on their return. The forest was stunted, but extensive,

and greatly encumbered with brushwood; game very scarce; the sun intensely hot; and hardly a trace of human beings to be met with, except in the grandeur of former days, intimated by the massive ruins of buildings, now rendered difficult of access by the luxuriant vegetation of a tropical climate. These edifices appeared to deserve close investigation, but the tracks of beasts of prey observed during the day, and the approach of evening, rendered it necessary to seek the landing place, where the boat had been appointed to meet them. The morning's route was accurately retraced, but the flowing of the tide had altered the whole face of nature. In vain they struggled to wade through the maze; and in vain, torn both in clothes and skin, they made a circuit of several miles to double this new body of water. Night came on—they now heard signal guns, from the Nisus, to direct their steps; and they fired their pieces in volleys, hoping the sound might reach the boats, which they had no doubt were searching for them; but the roar of wild beasts was the only answer. Worn out with fatigue, the party took up a position, in a nook near the shore, with the water in front, and fortified by impenetrable brushwood behind; so that enemies, either biped or quadruped, could not approach without being observed. Here they made a large fire, and expected to have re-

mained till the morning, when the shouts of their shipmates agreeably saluted their ears: still neither their answering voices, nor the report of their muskets were heard, so embowered were they by thick foliage. The boats persevering, however, in their endeavours, at last arrived within hail of the exhausted sportsmen, who, in the stillness of the night, had been tantalized for two wearisome hours by the distant splash of oars. On reaching the ship, Captain Beaver, having endured much apprehension for their safety, gravely said, "Gentlemen, if you cannot take care of yourselves in these African woods, I shall, in future, keep you on board;" but he softened the censure by adding, that "the service would have suffered by their loss."

The Captain, alluding to the foregoing incident, continues his journal thus:—"The evening before we sailed, owing to a chapter of moving accidents by land and flood, some of the officers were nearly condemned to a night's lodging among the panthers and leopards of the jungles. Understanding from the Surgeon that, in their excursion, they had stumbled on some extensive ruins, at Pagoda Point, on the south side of the harbour, I went with him and Mons. Sausse to explore them. The whole site is overgrown with underwood; but I saw all around imposing vestiges of an ancient population. I did not remain long enough to make

such a careful examination as they demand, because Yousoufou had sent me word that he would visit me in the evening; and I had a thousand questions to ask him. Close to the water was a very strong parapet wall, and about a hundred yards further, a spacious cemetery. In an angle of the enclosure to this area, were the fine, though small remains, of a handsome mosque—silent as the dead who were strewed around; it was about twenty feet long, a dozen broad, and ten in height, by guess. The roof appeared to have consisted of six domes, in two rows. An adjacent building, of much larger dimensions, was divided by longitudinal compartments, or aisles; and I was much struck, on entering the east doorway, to observe on either side, two perfectly *Saxon arches*—an arch as different from the Moorish horse-shoe, as it is from the Gothic. Further on were the ruins of a spacious edifice, which I thought must have been the habitation of a ruler, for it united the capacity of a palace with the strength of a castle; and was moreover judiciously placed, so as to command the entrance of the harbour. A tree, of nine feet in circumference, rising within one of its former rooms, and several of considerable size growing on the remaining walls, sufficiently bespeak both grandeur and antiquity.”

Quitting Quiloa, they stood to the N.E., and on

the 20th of September, at midnight, were greatly astonished by finding themselves in ten or twelve fathoms water. The ship was considered to the westward of the great bank of Mahé, but subsequent examination tended to prove that vast platform to be considerably more extensive than hitherto delineated. "This," says Captain Beaver, "as well as the great shoals of Saya de Malha, and Cargados, should be examined at the public charge; and if the expense were to amount even to fifty thousand pounds, I contend that the benefit accruing from the survey would render it an act of economy. Amongst other advantages, if it be borne in mind, that the Seychelle islands are free from the scourge of hurricanes, the utility and comfort of the anchorages will appear considerable. There are now many people of local knowledge, trading inhabitants of the islands, who could conduct vessels directly to the objects required; but if we do not speedily avail ourselves of such adventitious aid, the work may hereafter cost double the sum which would now be required. Of these people, some may return to Europe, some may die, and others may give up their occupation; after which, these parts will be as little known to the traders here, as to those of the Isle of Sky; for it was the slave traffic which led them thither, and that is now abolished. Without such fortuitous hints, I should

derive but little comfort from a chart constructed during running voyages; for though the positions might be correct, hidden dangers require time to be well explored.

“Of the group of islands which studs this bank,” continues our observant officer, “Mahé is the largest, being about twenty miles in length, and from two to seven in breadth; with a population of 340 whites, 141 free blacks, and 2533 slaves, who live in a rural seclusion, worthy of the pen of St. Pierre. Praslin, so called from the Duke of that name, is the next in size and population to Mahé; it has plenty of water, and is remarkable for being the only place in the world where that extraordinary plant, the sea cocoa-nut, is known to grow. Silhouette holds the third rank; it is high and varied in outline, but as yet is only the haunt of goats, tortoises, and wild fowl. The isles of St. Anne, and Cerf, were always reserved by the French government for supplying their ships with wood, having steadily rejected every application, which individuals made, to appropriate them. When, therefore, this Archipelago was taken possession of by the Nisus, I claimed them as his Majesty’s appurtenance, which claim I officially made known to the proper authorities. Yet I now find, that both the islands have been converted into private property; and Cerf is inhabited by a naval surgeon, in virtue

of a grant most illegally made. To complete the business, I was refused permission to cut wood, on the very spot, which duty to my country had prompted me to reserve, for a public supply of that indispensable article. I shall represent this arrogance in such a light, to the Commander-in-chief, as I trust will teach these eastern civilians, that they are not at liberty to violate any of our national engagements with impunity."

The sea cocoa-nut, thus alluded to, being very little known, I may be excused a slight digression respecting it. This singular production acquired its name on the shores of India, whither it floated, and was found, before the place of its growth had been discovered; and it was therefore considered to be a fruit from the depths of the ocean. An idea of its size may be formed, by imagining three or four large melons, with hard black shells, enclosed together in a strong fibrous rind. They are multiform, but usually double; and one side has been held to be poisonous, if the other be not eaten as an antidote—a prejudice which insures its entire consumption. Every part of the tree is useful; the stem affords timber; the envelope of the nut is twisted into ropes and mats; the leaves are applied to huts, hats, and numerous other purposes; whilst the shell of the fruit supplies jars or bowls, dishes or platters, according to the direction in which it is cut, and the taste of the

cutter. I may also mention, in addition to what has been observed by Captain Beaver, that the *Seychelles* were discovered by Lazarus Ricault, in 1743, and named after one of the French ministers; but from the abundance of cowries, and the beauty of various other cypræas found there, our sailors, naturally enough, think them the *Sea-shell* islands. They afford pine-apples, plantains, bananas, tamarinds, cocoa-nuts, and other tropical fruits in profusion: sugar-canes, yams, cassada, rice, and cotton, are the principal objects of cultivation; and their various hard woods, black, yellow, and red, are in high request. Their beef is excellent, the goat's flesh extremely well-flavoured, and a nutritious food is found in the terrapin, or land tortoise. The groves are frequented by parrots, of gorgeous plumage, and amongst the flying species, are numbers of immense bats. Rock-fish of every description, and fine turtle, are extremely plentiful, so that these islands, being also free from storms, are really enviable. But no part which I have visited is so infested with sharks—the blue, the white, the tiger, the hammer-headed, and indeed most of the varieties of that voracious tribe. In January, 1805, an enormous monster was taken in Mahé Bay, while cruizing round our ship, in company with many of her kind, and surrounded by a numerous progeny. She was caught with a small

hook, which had been baited for rock-fish; and it was surprising that her attempts to escape should not have disengaged her. On the first perception of danger, and while she was being drawn alongside, the fry entered the mouth of the dam, to seek safety. With some difficulty and much dexterity she was secured and slung; but such was the weight of the prey, that it required the fore and main yard tackles to hoist her on board. After giving sundry violent flaps, she was overpowered; and I saw with astonishment, on a large gash being made in the belly, no less than thirty-eight young sharks tumble out of the orifice alive! They were each nearly two feet in length, and their mouths admitted a man's hand with ease.

Returning by the Isle of France to the Cape of Good Hope, our skilful officer appears to have been again diligently employed, in correcting the hydrography of the several places which he visited. On the 5th of November, in latitude $34^{\circ} 30'$ south, and longitude $27^{\circ} 30'$ east, the look-out people suddenly saw a phenomenon, which has no doubt often placed a danger on the charts of those, who take no trouble to search after truth. Captain Beaver says,—“Discoloured water, having all the appearance of a shoal, being reported to me as not far off, I went upon deck to examine it, when the man at the mast head called out that there was

more about a mile off on the larboard bow. The ship was instantly brought to, and boats were sent to each patch; for I certainly never saw any thing that so closely resembled shallow water: indeed, nothing but the examination which we instituted would have convinced me that they were not dangers. The first patch was of an oval form, nearly half a mile long, and looked exactly like a bank of sand eight or ten feet under water, with well-defined edges. The second spot was considerably larger, and of more irregular outline, but had equally the same appearance of a sand bank, or coral reef. However, when the boats returned, we found they had gained no bottom with one hundred and fifty fathoms of line; and that the phenomenon was occasioned by inconceivable myriads of animals, which, from specimens we procured, I found I had neither seen before, nor met with any description of. Their transparent and cylindrical bodies were of the consistence of blubber, rounded at one end, and, as it were, cut off obliquely at the other; being about three-quarters of an inch in length, and rather more than a quarter in diameter. Two delicate fibres were just perceptible, dividing the body longitudinally, and four others, nearly equidistant, transversely; the oblique part was covered with a circular membrane, having two rows of minute pearly beads around its

circumference, and an integument like a loop, with the bight outwards, at its centre. Two feelers, nearly as long as the insect, projected straight before it; and the respiration was wonderfully performed by a series of valves, working like the mechanism of many pairs of chain pumps. Oh, rulers of the globe, how insignificant are ye, after all! The bucket which had been dipped amongst them was crowded to excess; yet in the most lively manner, they frolicked and practised all their evolutions, without running foul of each other; the motion, to be sure, was rather ungraceful, being by sudden jerks, stern foremost."

On the following day, a fine ship under American colours, joined company with the *Nisus*, and both parties being ignorant of the war, they sailed very peaceably near each other for a week; but afterwards, on arriving at the Cape, and hearing of hostilities, the disappointment of the crew was proportionate. Captain Beaver immediately hauled out, with a view of intercepting her, though he had only two days' bread on board; in spite of a sharp look out, he missed the prey; which, however, running into Table Bay, was there promptly taken possession of.

Our indefatigable officer's services were now drawing to a close; a disorder, supposed to have been contracted on the pestilent shores of Batavia,

had been making insidious encroachments on a constitution naturally vigorous, but perhaps somewhat debilitated by climate and hard duty: and the late exertions at Quiloa were considered rather imprudent. Zeal and energy bore up his spirits, yet his mind was irresistibly engrossed with considerations of the future; he became painfully solicitous to rejoin his family; and it was with infinite satisfaction that he at length found the ship ordered to St. Helena, towards the end of December, to collect convoy for England. From letters written about this period, and their not containing the slightest hint of bodily sufferings, his connexions were already prepared to greet him, with all the affection which so estimable a character inspired; they indulged the fond hope that he would soon reap the reward of past exertions; and by returning at the close of a successful war, enjoy the honours which he had so meritoriously earned. Vain anticipation! The prospect of such happiness was blighted, by the abrupt announcement of his death! While the solace of domestic endearments and social intercourse seemed to await him, his precarious tenure had already expired; and the pains and pleasures of this world were closed upon him for ever.

Mr. Prior, to whom I have already been greatly indebted, has furnished me with so feeling and

interesting a description of the last moments of his excellent friend, that I should do but little justice to my own feelings, or to his talents, were I not to give it in his own words.

“I have much pleasure,” he writes, “in bearing testimony to my late commander’s merits, as he was undoubtedly a most able and zealous officer, and an honourable man ; and, after three years close observation in a ship, where the peculiarities of all on board become as well known as in a private family, where, in fact, no characteristic can be long concealed ; I conceive myself not only enabled to judge, but also entitled to state the results of my judgment.

“Blessed with an excellent constitution and temperate habits, he had been an utter stranger to serious illness, since the African expedition ; few men allowed themselves less indulgence ; in the coldest weather he would not have a fire ; in extreme vicissitudes he seldom resorted even to a great coat ; and, when assailed by indisposition, always professed himself independent of medicine. Habit had confirmed these prejudices. Imbued with uncommon strength of mind, he had been accustomed to depend only upon himself, and therefore conceived, perhaps with pardonable weakness, that these extraneous helps were, in a great degree, unnecessary to the health of the human

frame. With such opinions, his premature death is scarcely surprising ; and as it proved impressive in no common degree, I cannot but enter into the detail of his dissolution.

“ I may remark here, that during the three years we were together, and enjoying, I believe, his esteem, without an interruption, he never applied to me professionally but once previous to his last illness—this was a day or two after anchoring in Batavia Roads. The symptoms threatened dysentery, the most destructive disease experienced on that coast ; and I urged him strenuously not to join a dinner party of brother captains, on board one of the frigates at anchor. After some deliberation, and learning from me all the bearings of his case, he, at length, said, ‘ he must, though unwillingly, go ; for, after coming so far to join an expedition, it would have a strange appearance to be taken ill immediately on arrival.’ Accordingly he went, though I clearly saw he suffered much more than he acknowledged. I procured a promise, however, which to him was no sacrifice, to take little food, and no wine. No serious inconvenience followed ; and, if I recollect right, he did not take any medicine. On other occasions I was perfectly aware of his being ill, suffering from severe colds, or otherwise ; yet he was either above complaint, or could not conquer

his repugnance to be under obligation to the healing art. Even virtues carried thus far, at length degenerate into weaknesses.

“ On the morning of our entering Table Bay, towards the end of March, 1813, about an hour before arriving at the anchorage, Captain Beaver summoned me to attend him. ‘ It is not often, Mr. Prior,’ said he, smiling, ‘ that I personally call upon your professional attentions, but I do not feel quite as I could wish ; I have been uneasy for several days ; I have not relished my wine, or my snuff ; and when this is the case, I am sure I am not well.’ Upon further enquiry, I found to my astonishment, that the functions of the intestinal canal had been obstructed, with one exception, for a space of ten days ! I pointed out in as strong terms as I could use, the necessity of having recourse to immediate measures for relief, and of the danger which in all probability impended over him. He seemed inclined to acquiesce, but after taking two or three turns across the cabin, in deep thought, replied, ‘ Were I at sea, I should certainly do as you desire ; and I therefore regret not mentioning the circumstances, to you yesterday ; but to-day, it cannot be—I must anchor the ship ; I must wait upon the Admiral ; I have several other persons to see upon matters which I do not like to postpone ; in short, it will not be in

my power to-day ; but to-morrow, certainly, should I not feel better, I will consent to whatever you command me to do.'

" I tried to change this determination in vain. His resolutions once taken, were commonly unalterable. Intending to sleep on shore that night, he promised that the first boat next morning should apprise me of his situation ; even this he thought a great concession.

" I was roused early on the following day, by information that I was required on shore immediately. On entering the Captain's room, I found there the surgeon and assistant-surgeon of the Naval Hospital, who had sat up with him during the night. His first salutation was, 'Oh ! Mr. Prior, had I taken your advice yesterday morning, I might not now be in the painful situation in which I am.' This was said, not at all in a querulous tone, but in a calm and collected manner. He went on to describe that, on landing the preceding forenoon, partly in hopes of being useful as an aperient, and partly to gratify a young midshipman who accompanied him, he had purchased some very fine grapes, of which he ate freely. The day was spent in walking about in the sun, calling upon his friends. While at the table of Admiral Tyler, at dinner, he was taken violently ill, and towards the conclusion of it, was obliged

to retire. The pain increased momentarily, until his agony became extreme. At this time all the shore boats being hauled up, conformably to a colonial regulation, no message could be sent off to the ship. Dr. Duke was, therefore, called in, who, perceiving the disease to be enteritis, or inflammation of the bowels, had recourse to the most active means for relief; which were ineffectually continued through the night. He suffered the most excruciating torments without a murmur; that fortitude which he professed, and always displayed, not once deserting him. And in this hopeless state I found him.

“Suspecting the fatal termination of the complaint, he enquired how long it was probable life might be prolonged, should the symptoms not amend: ‘Do you doubt my fortitude?’ said he calmly, seeing me hesitate in the reply; ‘you need not. I await death with resignation: I have long looked it in the face without fear, and why should I tremble now? I feel I cannot live long in this situation (he was then writhing in the most dreadful tortures), therefore use no unnecessary reserve—be candid.’ The melancholy truth being declared, he exclaimed with peculiar energy, ‘Death has no terrors for me,—let the awful moment arrive when it may, I am as ready to die as most men; and trust I have not been a great sinner!’

“ When undressed, preparatory to being immersed in the warm bath, I observed the trace of a recent scar upon one of his legs, which was in fact scarcely healed. Observing my attention fixed upon it, he instantly said, ‘ That was done by the wolf, but I thought it too trifling to trouble you with.’ Upon recollection, I had heard more than a month before, that a Cape wolf, which being tamed on board, was suffered to run about the decks, had seized him by the trowsers, partly in play, and partly perhaps in obeying the common instinct of his kind. But I did not suspect, as no application was made for surgical aid, that so serious an injury had been inflicted ;—an instance of his patient endurance of pain, or determination to be above the common infirmities and weaknesses of our nature.

“ Composed and firm, he lingered three days longer, exciting alternately our wonder and regret ; the medical art of the navy, the army, and the colony being vainly exhausted for his relief. He repeatedly thanked the gentlemen in attendance : ‘ When I am dead,’ said he, ‘ if it can in the least benefit society, let me be opened : I can have no possible objection.’ On the evening of the 5th, while my arm supported his head, he became exhausted, and breathed his last, with scarcely a struggle : peace be to his noble spirit !

“Admired in life, he was still more worthy of admiration in that trial which is the touchstone of us all. To use the emphatic words of a gallant companion in arms, Captain Schomberg, who assiduously attended his sick bed,—‘He has not only taught us how to die, but also how we should live, in order to be enabled thus to meet death.’

“He was opened, according to his own express permission, the day after his demise. A considerable portion of the small intestines was found in a state of mortification. All the rest of the viscera were sound, and healthy; and promised a long continuance of life.

“His funeral was attended by all the chief civil and military authorities of the Cape; the pall was borne by Captains Schomberg, Richardson, Eveleigh, and Bain, of the navy; and the Colonels of the 21st dragoons, 83d and 93d regiments, &c. When the corpse was committed to the ground, I saw more than one of his brother officers affected in a manner, that did equal honour to their feelings and their friendship. None of us, I believe, were free from such emotions.”

This melancholy event, and the prominent features of Captain Beaver’s character, are also ably detailed, in a letter of the 2d of October, 1828, from Commodore C. M. Schomberg. “Nothing, my dear Smyth, has given me greater pleasure

than your resolving to make poor Beaver's merits better known to the public; indeed his memory well deserves such a tribute of respect. I saw the last of him.

“ Not long before his death, the *Nisus* was detached to St. Helena, from the Cape of Good Hope, to take charge of a convoy of Indiamen to England; but news of an American force reaching the station, I was sent in the *Astrea* to recall him. He was greatly disappointed at this measure; and ordered me to return to Table Bay, by the outer edge of the trade winds, which, with the current, were strong against us, while he went on the inner, or African side. My friend was fortunate enough to intercept and capture a fine large American ship, laden with tea, and had very nearly got hold of her consort also. This valuable prize cheered his last hours, under the idea of its being a provision for his family; for he little suspected that the greater part of the cargo would be claimed and awarded as individual property.

“ He had slightly complained during the cruize of indisposition, and his looks on our arrival, proved the intensity of his disease. He landed about noon, but while dining with the Admiral, was under the necessity of quitting the table. The symptoms quickly increased to an alarming degree, and after a violent struggle with nature for four days,

he expired at Cape Town, on the 5th of April, 1813; and in those trying moments displayed his usual admirable fortitude. Seeing that we were greatly affected, he remarked that death was an event for which he had been daily prepared; it was a debt which all must pay, and therefore it should be contemplated with calm resignation. Addressing me more particularly, for I never quitted him during this impressive scene, he continued. ‘If I am not better in an hour, I cannot live. You will succeed me in the command of the *Nisus*, and I know my youngsters will be taken care of. I hope they will yet be an honour to the cloth.’ He then deliberately proceeded to make serious preparation for the approaching event. About five o’clock, the anticipated return of the pangs of inflammatory constipation closed his earthly troubles, and left us in a stupor of grief.

“It is difficult for me to sketch his character—he was manly and determined, with a mind very peculiarly constituted. From the firmness of his decision, something like austerity, and an air of conscious superiority, showed itself in command; but in society, except where vice or folly drew forth his sarcasm, he was gentle and as playful as a child. His inflexible integrity made parts of his conduct appear captious and irritable; while in argument, his manner seemed rather to dictate than to per-

suade,—yet I know no man who persuaded with more conviction. His view of enterprise was generally very bold, for he never saw difficulty, and was a stranger to fear : but as a flag officer, his soaring mind would have been more in its element than as captain of a frigate. With a strong thirst after useful information, he studied closely during every moment of official leisure, and was therefore not only a scientific navigator, but appeared very conversant in general literature. He was indifferent to the garb in which substantial knowledge was clothed : and I have reason to think that this extraordinary man read the *Encyclopedia Britannica* entirely through during a cruize—a curious instance of a habit of perseverance.

“ He was interred with military honours, and the following modest record placed over his grave :—

HERE

Lie the Remains

OF

PHILIP BEAVER,

CAPTAIN OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S SHIP NISUS ;

WHO,

AFTER A SHORT BUT PAINFUL ILLNESS,

(WHICH HE BORE WITH HIS CHARACTERISTIC FIRMNESS,)

CLOSED AN ENTERPRISING AND VIRTUOUS LIFE,

THE 5TH OF APRIL,

ANNO ÆTATIS XLVIII.

SALUTIS MDCCCXIII.”

To this tribute of friendship, paid by an officer alike brave and beloved, I shall venture to add a few particulars, and thus terminate the memoirs of this exemplary man.

Captain Beaver was of a middle stature and spare habit; but healthy, active, and capable of sustaining great fatigue, both of body and mind. His eyes were expressive, and his countenance animated, without being handsome; in deportment he was genteel without a trace of foppery, and his temper was ardent, without being violent; though he sometimes allowed resolution to border upon obstinacy. He was so habitually industrious himself, that he could not understand, and found it difficult to excuse, either indifference or idleness in others. Endued by nature with something of Roman decision of mind, and brought up from childhood in the sharpest school of discipline under the crown, he almost inevitably became severe. This blemish has not been an uncommon one amongst our most distinguished men, and even the heroic Nelson was not popular, till this unamiable peculiarity had worn off. It is an error arising from the zeal without knowledge of young officers: a bias which is corrected and cured by reflection, and the advance of years. Beaver felt and acknowledged this truth; and, in conversation on the system of terror then prevailing in a ship

on the station, he remarked that it was the misconception of youthful ardour, and that he himself had been actuated by similar feelings in the early part of his career, "but had long seen reason to alter his practice." In the *Acasta*, and the *Nisus*, though the regulations were exceedingly strict, there was nothing like tyranny; yet the pardonable weakness of forgiving a little more frequently would, perhaps, have brought the commander's character nearer to perfection. But with him the punishment of slight transgressions could not be imputed to heat of temper, cloaked under the necessities of official discipline; it was what he considered a conscientious discharge of his duty.

He was ever exceedingly careful of the health of his crew; and moreover was attentive to their welfare, by saving them from the annoyance of unnecessary labour. He despised many of those trifling but harassing duties, which obtained during the late war, as taking off attention from more important things; and which occasioned much dissatisfaction, without accomplishing any equivalent good. In naval evolutions, where every thing is performed by bodily strength, men cannot, like machines, be at all moments screwed up to the utmost possible point of performance, as some have expected. Rivalries are felt in fleets, for each ship to arrive at excellence; but what are called

“smart vessels,” are rarely made without giving the seamen an incurable disgust to the service. Captain Beaver’s charge, on one or two occasions, was, “Remember, men, if you are first on the list, I shall like it, but I do not insist upon it; you must not, however, be last.” No honour was lost by this system; for the men, feeling a freedom from responsibility, performed their duty with alacrity and emulation, whenever a trial of skill was called for; and certainly were never “last.”

His personal determination in every situation was not less remarkable than his confidence in his own powers and capacity, in movements of difficulty. Without being rash, he might justly be said to be fearless; it was a vigour of mind, beyond mere courage; and he moreover impressed every one who came near him, with the same feeling. When serving under a senior officer, he was consulted upon most occasions of difficulty; but when he himself commanded, he rarely, if ever, consulted any one. This sometimes gave offence to his brother officers, who, probably, of scarcely inferior standing in the service, felt in this reserve a want of confidence, either in their ability or their discretion. In many instances, nothing of this kind was meant; it was part of his character; but at the same time, wherever incapacity was evident, he evinced contempt, even towards senior

officers. Although he had an utter aversion to flattery and flatterers, he appeared to feel himself superior to most of those by whom he was surrounded, whether equals in rank, or juniors: there was some pride, or even presumption in this, perhaps; but on service, he no doubt found resources within himself, which he did not perceive in others; and there was a degree of moral, as well as physical magnanimity about him, which rather sought than shrunk from responsibility.

With such a degree of energy, if we occasionally discover impetuosity, and anxiety, and apparent self-sufficiency, let us recollect, that these are most useful qualities in an officer, especially when tempered, as they were in Captain Beaver, with judgment.

“ Who can be wise, amazed, temperate and furious,
Loyal and neutral, in a moment ?

He thought intensely, and expressed himself most powerfully and fluently, particularly when excited. In governing a body of men, command should sometimes be aided by persuasion; for it is often more desirable, and certainly as useful, to address their reason, as their backs; and never was an officer more fitted for this purpose than our hero. His plain and impressive manner frequently drew tears from the most rugged sailors;

and on one occasion, on board the *Nisus*, where an act of insubordination had been exhibited towards a petty officer, when it became necessary to inspire awe, or even terror, several of the men were seen to shrink, involuntarily, from the energy of his reproof, and the dignified vehemence of his denunciations.

He rarely paced the deck, as is customary with most naval officers at sea; when he did appear, it was chiefly for the purpose of giving orders. Nearly the whole of his time was spent in his cabin, principally in miscellaneous reading, or in writing. He would scarcely, however, condescend to notice the lighter departments of literature; he declared that he required more solid food for his mind: "Men who go to sea," said he, "have enough to do, by studying assiduously, to keep upon a par with their neighbours." The works of poetasters and novelists he continued to hold as extremely trifling, thinking, perhaps, that few could, like the ducks of Pontus, find poison to be wholesome; but he did not disrelish those flights of fiction, which occur in *Moral Essays*. Anonymous writers he despised; and when Mr. Prior enquired how he had been treated by the professional critics, as to his work on *Bulama*; "The opinion of those fellows," said he, "was to me a matter of utter indifference. I had to state facts

in a plain manner, none of which, supposing any of them to have known the island, or the particulars of the expedition, could be contradicted. Some, indeed, did not admire my opinions regarding Sierra Leone, but they gave me as much praise, no doubt, as I deserved. However, you shall see."

Beaver's strict regard for religion was exemplified in the tenor of his life: he was a sincere Christian; and no doctrine, ancient or modern, ever taught a more rational humanity than that which uniformly distinguished him, as a husband, father, commander, and friend. He read prayers regularly and solemnly, to his ship's company, and was alike moral in his habits and manners; whilst his conversation proved, that he did not consider swearing at all requisite to adorn a speech, even though the contrary has the high authority of Longinus.

He did the honours of his table with a plain, unaffected hospitality; two or three of the officers, according to the good, old, and sociable custom of the navy, which it is to be regretted is wearing away, dined with him almost every day. With the systematic pertinacity in all his habits, he took a pint of wine, neither more nor less, after dinner, in whatever climate. The hours kept in a man-of-war are so uniform, that scarcely any one receives or deserves much praise for regularity—breakfast at

eight o'clock, or a little after; dinner at two or three; tea at six; some wine and water at eight; and to bed probably about ten;—but Captain Beaver, despising all sensual and degrading practices, would have been a regular and temperate man in any situation. His company was much courted by those to whom he was well known; and he was a great favourite in female society; for, disdaining to descend to what is vulgarly called compliment, he recurred to the more delicate refinement of treating ladies as rational creatures, and conversing with them upon a footing of equality—never losing sight of the purity and politeness with which they should always be addressed.

His family, at his death, consisted of Mrs. Beaver and six children; and as fortune had not favoured him in the acquisition of wealth, his widow was, through the kindness of Lord Viscount Melville, appointed Matron of Greenwich Hospital School—a situation which she could have little contemplated, when her husband was so conspicuous on the high road to the brightest honours. This nomination, however, afforded a refuge from pecuniary distress; and procured her an unexpected source of consolation, in the eager desire with which the veteran sailors crowded her door, entreating to see the children, those interesting portraits of their late revered commander.

Strenuous efforts had been made in this lady's behalf, accompanied with the strongest testimonials from the admirals under whom Captain Beaver had served; *but it is doubtful whether the high personage to whom they were humbly addressed was ever informed of them.*

Although the certificates of Sir A. Cochrane, Sir A. Bertie, the Honourable Sir R. Stopford, and Sir G. Beckwith, are scarcely to be excelled in the manly and elegant style of their commendation, it may nevertheless be pleasing to see, at full length, that of his early and steady friend, Lord Keith.

“ May it please your Royal Highness,

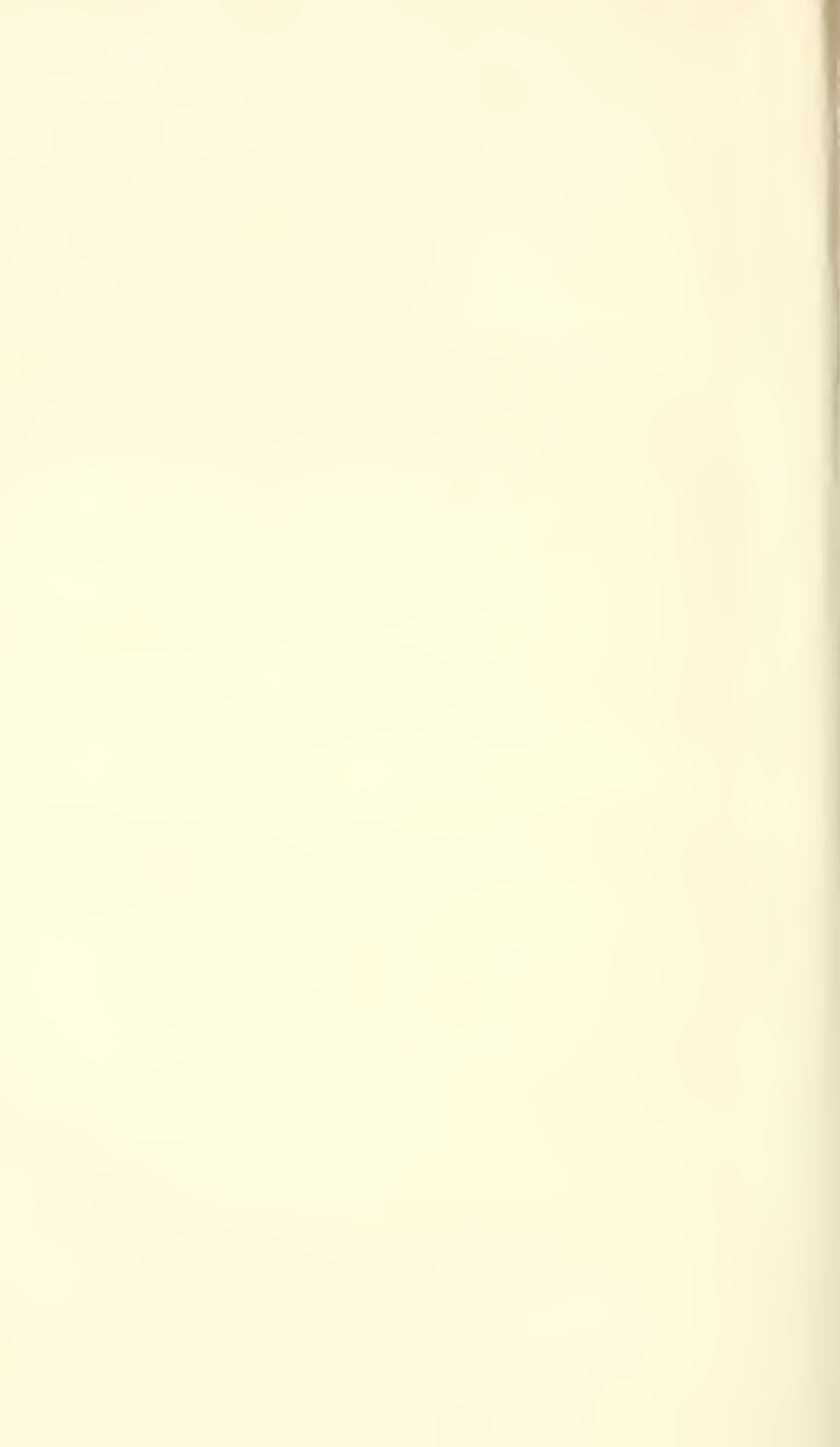
“ I think it my duty to certify, that in the month of August, 1796, the late Captain Philip Beaver, then a lieutenant in his Majesty's ship, the *Stately*, was appointed by me to the *Monarch*, bearing my flag, as Commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope, and in the Indian seas, in consequence of my having personally witnessed the prompt, seamanlike, and skilful exertions, by which it appeared to me that he saved the *Stately* and her crew, when exposed to a state of imminent danger, during a severe gale of wind: that he continued to serve

under my flag, as a lieutenant, from that time till July, 1799, when I had the means of obtaining for him the first just reward of his diligent and useful services, the rank of a commander: that in the month of April, 1800, when about to enter into co-operation with the Austrian General, Baron de Melas, for the expulsion of the French army from the city and territory of Genoa, I called Captain Beaver from the command of the *Aurore* prison ship, and appointed him to be acting assistant Captain of the fleet under my command, to aid me in the execution of the multiplied and complicated duties on which my attention was at that time employed: that the trust thus committed to him was executed with all advantage to the service, and satisfaction to me; and that during the progress of the blockade of Genoa, I accepted his voluntary offer of superintending the night guard, and the nightly bombardment of the town, which he executed with unremitting zeal, gallantry, and success: that on one of these occasions, with signal heroism, he boarded and brought out a large galley of very formidable force: that when the enemy evinced a disposition to treat for surrender, I entrusted him with my authority to negotiate the preliminaries of a treaty for the surrender of the town; and that in this capacity he conducted himself with great ability and

address: and I further certify that, in my long experience, I have not met with an officer, who, from the united qualities of clear conception, accurate judgment, prompt decision, and vigorous, undaunted execution of professional duty, was more likely, had he lived, to have arrived at distinction in the naval service.”

(Signed) “KEITH.”

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

No. I.

On the Battle between the Milford frigate and the Dieu de Coigny—fought on the 10th of May, 1780.

- UP in the wind, three leagues or more,
We spied a lofty sail;
“Let’s hoist a Dutch flag, for decoy,
And closely hug the gale.”
- Nine knots the nimble Milford ran,
“Thus—thus,” the master cried;
Hull up, she raised the chase in view,
And soon was side by side.
- “Down the Dutch ensign, up St. George,
To quarters now all hands,”—
With lighted match, beside his gun,
Each British warrior stands.
- “Give fire!” the gallant captain cries;
’Tis done—the cannons roar,
“Stand clear, Monsieur, digest these pills,
And then we’ll send you more.”

Yon French jack shivers in the wind,
 Its lilies all look pale;
 And well they may—they must come down,
 For Britons shall prevail.

Raked fore and aft, her shatter'd hull,
 Admits the briny flood;
 Her decks are covered with the slain,
 Her scuppers stream with blood.

Our chain-shot whistle in the wind,
 The grape descend like hail;
 “Huzza! my hearts, three cheering shouts!
 Our foe begins to quail.”

The fight is done,—she strikes—she yields;
 No more our force she braves;—
 Henceforth she'll bear our cross, and prove
 That Britons rule the waves.

P. BEAVER.

H. M. Ship Princess Royal, }
September 25th, 1780. }

No. II.

*A loyal Address, delivered at Bulama, on the 3d of August, 1793,
and subscribed to by the remaining Colonists.*

IN times of imminent danger, when bad men have dared to associate themselves, for the express purpose of overturning our most excellent constitution; when the mob-directed government of France employs the basest of men to stir up sedition in our country, and war with every thing which has hitherto been held sacred by the wisest of men;—when they publicly avow their intention of carrying their pernicious doctrines into every kingdom of Europe—it behoves Britons to avow their sentiments boldly. In such times it is criminal to remain neuter. That distance, and those circumstances, which almost prevent communication with our Mother Country, precludes us not, thank God, from expressing our love to our Sovereign, and attachment to our time-proved establishments.

We do therefore declare

Our firm attachment to our present constitution of government, by King, Lords, and Commons, as settled at the glorious Revolution of 1688; in the support and defence of which we will, at all times, and in any place, be ready to lay down our lives.

P. BEAVER.

No. III.

Extract of a Letter from CAPTAIN BEAVER, describing a ludicrous interview with a Tuscan Poet.

“ HAVING landed at Leghorn, on my way to England with despatches, in 1800, and, of course, in a pressing hurry to get home, I was vexed and amused with one of those impertinencies which will occasionally happen to travellers in Italy. Notwithstanding there were but few moments to spare, a gaunt stranger intruded himself, bearing a book and a letter; the latter ran thus:—‘The most sinser whiches of hapeness to the Cape. Beaver, Inglese. In occasion of his happy arrivale in Livorno. It is two strange that a man should trobble you without haveing never hapness to present himself to you; but considering how noble your heart is, and the sublime virtues that adorne you, makes a man of genius find in you his only Mecenas, who, with the usual great bounty, receives all those who aims at such a honor. Encouraged by such reflexions, I don’t doubt your clemency over my poems, made in ocasion of the victorias brought over the enemies by a conquering armies, English, Austriache, and Muscovits, which, Sir, I send you, flattering myself you will find elegan merit in my works, and hoping from your great goodness an act of generous gratitude, and full of great respect and sincere, I have the honour to be, your omblest Tuscan poet, NICOLA POGGI.’ ”

No. IV.

A Letter addressed to Colonel SIR ROBERT WILSON, K.M.T., on certain Geographical Errors in his Map of Egypt.

Watford, Herts, 10th February, 1803.

MY DEAR SIR,

SINCE I had the pleasure of seeing you last, when I took the liberty of pointing out the misnomers of the lakes, in your map of Egypt, at the same time giving my reasons and authority, I have seen our consul, Mr. Baldwin, who confirms my assertions. Doubting not that your book will be hereafter referred to as an authority, it becomes highly necessary that places should be called by their proper names in it, and consequently, the earlier any mistakes are corrected, the better.

I, therefore, now venture to write what I then said, for your further consideration, convinced that you will receive in good part, those observations, which are made with a view only to the ascertaining of truth.

Of the two lakes between Alexandria and the Nile, you call the one, the lake of Aboukir, I suppose, from the castle near it; whereas, its true name is *Sed*; the other you have named Etko, probably from the village (*Edkô*) on its banks, but the natives call it Maadie.

The former derives its name from the Roman embankment, in Arabic, *Sed*, that runs eastward, from the sandhills, where our troops landed on the 8th of March, 1801, and which separates the two lakes; nor was there any opening where the pontoon bridge now is. The bed of the lake was dry, and cultivated, although some feet below the level of the sea. The Turks, who suffer every thing to go to ruin, never attempted to repair a small breach made by the sea, in this *Sed*, or mound, in the year 1782, or 3, and through which

the waters flowed, continually widening it, till they converted that valuable valley into an extensive marsh.

The lake Maadie, in Arabic, a ferry, or passage, was so called, because its entrance, or mouth, lying directly between Alexandria and Rosetta, every one going from the one place to the other was obliged to cross it, at the spot where the Karavansera still remains.

I could have entered more fully into this subject, if I had not intended to confine myself within the bounds of a letter; but before I close, I must mention one circumstance more, where you appear to have been led into another error.

In narrating the operations of our army, on the sandy tongue of land between Alexandria and Abookeer, you frequently connect it with the lake Maadie; whereas you ought to have written *Sed*, because Maadie was far distant from our then operations, and must never be confounded with that lake, whatever be its name, by which the army received its provisions, and on whose border it then had a depôt. Except these faults, your map of the space between Alexandria and Rosetta is by far the best extant.

Mr. Dalrymple's chart, and a memoir, of one sheet, accompanying it, was yesterday put into my hands. I find he names the lakes as you have, but his chart has one great error, and his memoir many, which I shall take an early opportunity of communicating to that gentleman.

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

P. BEAVER.

No. IV.

A Letter published in "The Courier," 16th of February, 1804, with the Author's subsequent corrections, on the threatened Invasion.

To the EDITOR of the COURIER.

SIR,

IN times like the present, when we daily expect the approach of an hostile force to our shores, the various opinions of men on the practicability of the attempt, or the difficulties which attend it, by being made known, may probably produce some good; with this view, I send you the following thoughts on the chance which our active, subtle, energetic, and great enemy, has in succeeding in HIS LAST ENTERPRISE.

A seaman by profession, a middle-aged life, spent in the constant naval service of my country, and the experience of the frequent embarkation and debarkation of numerous troops in every quarter of the globe, under various difficulties and circumstances, may, or at least ought to, enable me to form some, not very inaccurate, notions on this subject.

I shall consider it under three heads:—

1st.—The Enemy's quitting their Ports.

2dly.—Their crossing the Sea.

3dly.—Their Landing on our Shores.

ON THE ENEMY'S QUITTING THEIR PORTS.

It would not be doing justice to the cautious foresight of Bonaparte to suppose any thing has been neglected by him, which might facilitate the speedy embarkation of his numerous troops destined to invade this island. I take it for granted, that his whole force can be embarked in *four hours*; and if he cannot do that from Brest to the Texel, he is a

mere tyro in the embarkation of troops ; but with this I have nothing to do. Whether four hours or four weeks be employed, is nothing to the purpose : I suppose them embarked—to be useful they must quit their ports, and that is the point on which I will give my opinion.

To blockade a port, particularly in these latitudes, is *impossible*, if by blockading is meant the obstruction to the ingress or egress of vessels *at all times* ; if it were possible, it would be done by the unrivalled skill and unexampled perseverance of our naval commanders ; but we cannot withstand the elements ; we already do with our ships what no other nation will ever venture to attempt.—To British ships there is no winter.

I consider, then, that it is not in our power, *at all times*, to prevent the enemy's sailing either from Brest or the Texel ; those from the former port would be, most probably, destined for Ireland, and those from the latter for Scotland. I have hitherto only alluded to the sailing of that part of the enemy's force which is composed of *large ships*, which will sail from *large ports*, and which, it is conceived, will most likely be destined to act against Scotland and Ireland ; and these are supposed to escape from their ports, when our blockading squadrons have been driven from their stations by tempestuous weather.

The troops intended to be sent against England will, I conceive, issue from all the *small ports* between Flushing and Cherbourg. If the attempt is to be simultaneous, they must have a wind which will be fair from each of those ports—suppose S. E. ; this is an *off-shore* wind, which will enable our cruizers to keep close off their harbours' mouths, watch all their motions, and transmit early intelligence. If the wind is such as to render the shore a *lee one*, and oblige our cruizers to keep at a greater distance, the *enemy cannot come out* : so that it is clear, that if our enemy can *quit their ports*, our cruizers can keep *close in with them* ; and that

if our cruisers *cannot keep close to the shore*, the enemy *cannot come out*.

The case here is very different from that of our blockading squadrons being driven from their stations off Brest and the Texel; when that is the case, the enemy's large ships, full of troops, may sail the first moment of a fair wind; if from Brest, the whole Atlantic is open for them to range in; they may run west till they arrive at America, or south till they double the Cape: the Texel fleet may round the northern extremity of this island, and have the same scope. In these instances our fleets may hunt them all round the world, and *miss them* at last; for all is conjecture as to their destination. Not so with the small vessels in the small ports of a narrow channel; these, crowded with soldiers, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, *must make for the nearest shore*, their safety being in proportion to the shortness of their stay on the water, and not having room for either stores, provisions, or any thing else, necessary for a long cruize, *must be seen, must be met, and must be opposed* by our cruisers.

But *what time will be required* for them to get out of their own ports? Suppose, for instance, the port of Boulogne, as the nearest, except Calais, to our shores, and the *principal port of rendezvous for the enemy's flotilla*. Those much accustomed to the sailing of numerous vessels out of a small port, with a narrow mouth, will not think that I allow too much time in supposing that each vessel will require *one minute* to get out of the port of Boulogne: now if it be true that the enemy have collected five hundred vessels in that port, it will, according to the above estimation, require five hundred minutes, or *eight hours and twenty minutes* for them to quit their own port. But Boulogne is a *dry harbour*, and has never water sufficient to float a vessel, however small and contemptible, for *eight hours and twenty minutes together*; they *cannot consequently all get out in one*

tide. How many, then, can? The harbour of Boulogne, as before observed, is dry at low water, indeed at two-thirds ebb, for the shore is left dry a long way without its mouth; the entrance is long and narrow, between two piers, like the neck of a bottle; and in this channel there will not be water sufficient to float the flotilla, for more than *four hours in each tide*, that is the last two hours of the *flood*, and the first two hours of the ebb; consequently, according to the above calculation, as to the time required for the sailing of the flotilla, not more than two hundred and forty vessels, or *rather less than one-half, can get out of port in one tide.*

I have hitherto taken it for granted, that the wind is fair, and sufficiently strong to enable the enemy's vessels to *stem the tide*, during the last *two hours' flood*; but should it not be sufficiently strong, or if it be calm, not more than *rather less than one fourth* of the enemy's vessels, would be able to get out *in one tide.*

As to Bonaparte's talking of *rowing* all his vessels out of port, and *rowing* them *across the channel*, it may be well enough, when addressed to French soldiers, but folly, when addressed to English seamen. We now come to the second point, viz.

ON THE ENEMY'S CROSSING THE SEA.

The fleets which it has been supposed might have escaped from the ports of Brest and of the Texel, *may arrive* at their assumed respective destinations, and *may possibly* there do much mischief; but, from the vigilance and activity of our numerous cruizers, employed in watching and communicating intelligence of the enemy's motions, the *probability* of their being fallen in with by some of our squadrons before they reach the places of their destination is *greatly in our favour*, and if they once meet, there is *an end to that part of the enemy's undertaking.*

I will now enquire what obstacles there are to the passage

of the enemy's vessels from the ports of the channel opposite to England.

I consider, in the first place, that each vessel is on its passage from the moment *it quits a French port*, notwithstanding the length of time which may be requisite for them to *wait for the junction* of others *not yet out* of the harbour.

If they come singly, we devour them like shrimps; and they cannot all, even under the most favourable circumstances, get out in one tide, as I have shown above. Here then arise three questions:—

1st.—Whether the enemy's vessels will endeavour to push over for our shores, with all sail, *singly*, as they quit their own ports.

2dly.—Whether they will, as they get out of their ports, come to off the harbour's mouth, and wait for all those which *can get out that tide*, and *then* push over for our shores? Or,

3dly.—Whether those which have got out *in one tide* will wait off the harbour's mouth, for the remainder to get out on the *following tide*, and *then* make their attempt?

In the first of these cases, as before observed, they would be devoured like shrimps; in the last, the risk, from change of wind and weather, as well as from their number, not being able to remain sheltered under their own guns, is too great to be incurred: these are both impracticable. I assume then, as incontrovertible, that the attempt to invade us from the opposite shores, whenever it may be, will be made by all the vessels that can get out *in one tide*, and that not more than one half of the enemy can consequently be employed in it. They quit their coast, and one continued battle attends them to our shores. Here intelligence will have long since arrived of the first motions of the enemy's flotilla; our line-of-battle ships and frigates will have all quitted our ports to meet them, and, if there be any wind, will sail over and destroy them, with as much ease as a man

can walk through a corn field. Our numerous sea fencible flotillas will attack them at a great distance from our shores; on which at length will be landed the miserable, astonished, and affrighted remnant of those devoted men, who have escaped the threefold ordeal of our floating force.

A thousand vessels, I think, may reasonably be reckoned at about the number with which this attempt will be made; and I am willing to allow, on an average, 100 soldiers to each vessel; for though I know that some will carry many more, many also will carry much fewer: thus there will be 100,000 troops employed in the undertaking. What will become of them? It has been shown that they cannot sail without our seeing them, and that they cannot quit their shores without our blockading force attacking them, which attack will continue as long as any thing is left to attack: the men-of-war of all descriptions will quit our ports, when the enemy are known to be in motion, and join in the conflict; and lastly, the numerous flotillas, manned by the sea fencibles, will issue from every port, to the number of near a thousand vessels, (I mean from the western point of Sussex to the eastern point of Essex,) and oppose of themselves, independent of our ships, a formidable obstacle to the progress of the enemy.

I do not hold the flotilla of the enemy too cheap; I know that many of the vessels of which it is composed are large, roomy, and bulky; of little draught of water, and very considerable force. If it be calm, their progress can be little; and in a *calm only* they will *never get across*, whatever Bonaparte may make *them* believe on that point: the tides run parallel to the shores, the flood will carry them to the eastward, and the ebb back again to the westward; but *neither* will *approximate* them to our coast; to reach it, *they must have wind*: in a calm, it is true, they may *destroy some of our attacking vessels*, but these must be in *their way* towards our coast: they cannot go out of their direct

road, for their safety depends on the celerity of their transit; and to hope even for the shadow of success, they must not disperse. But wind is essential to their passage; and if there be wind, our ships can act, can run down, can run over, can destroy by their artillery, in a very short time, unthought-of numbers of this musquito fleet. Our flotillas, manned by sea fencibles, though small vessels compared with those of the enemy, are unincumbered by troops; they have men only sufficient to work the vessel, and fight the gun; these vessels will make dreadful slaughter: by their construction, by their lightness, by their sailing, and by the ability of those who manage them, they will work round the enemy, to use a vulgar sea-phrase, like a cooper round a cask; they will attack when and where they please; their reiterated attacks will resemble that of half a dozen dogs, when attacking a wild boar in the woods, who claps his stern against a tree, and waits in that position, which *he durst not alter*, the repeated insults of his numerous though puny foes. So, these vessels of the enemy must keep their prow towards our shore; if they deviate, it will be the first symptom, and certain cause, of inevitable defeat.

Where there is no ground for precise calculation, one must be permitted to guess, so long as we confine ourselves within the probability of what may reasonably be expected to take place, from an impartial consideration of all circumstances. What is to become of them? This is the question which I proposed answering. Taking all circumstances into consideration, I hesitate not to say, and I would risk my professional character on the result, that if a thousand vessels quit the enemy's ports, not three hundred of them will hostilely reach the British shore; that is, I think that at least seven hundred out of the thousand will, in all human probability, be either sunk, blown up, dismasted, or disabled (for none must be taken till the whole are defeated) by our floating force. Here then, if I am at all within the bounds

of probability, is an end to the effective operation of 70,000 of the enemy.

I have hitherto considered the enemy as making the attempt under two points of view only; that is, *with* or *without* wind: but there is a third, under which, from some late observations in the *Moniteur*, Bonaparte appears to think that there would be the greatest probability of success, and that is in a *fog*.

A fog is a very good cloak to the approach of a few *rowing boats*, which may be sent to perform some *coup de main* at no great distance, *by surprise*; or to cover the approach of an *unsuspected enemy* to some shore, battery, town, or castle; but to say that in an enterprise, in which probably 200,000 men may be employed, on an extent of coast of more than 200 miles, from Flushing to Cherbourg, in which every thing ought to be seen, every thing clear, and every thing well regulated; for the success of which much will depend on the conjunction, compression, and co-operation of the different *flottillas* of which the hostile force may be composed; to say, I again repeat, that a fog is favourable *to such an enterprise*, is the height of folly: as well might it be averred, that a man can see better how to read in the pitchy darkness of the night than in the noon-tide glare of day.—Fogs are favourable to some enterprises; to this they must be fatal. I could very easily point out many particular reasons for this opinion, if any were necessary; but my letter is already too long.

I come now to the third head, under which I proposed considering the attempt of the enemy—that is—

THEIR LANDING ON OUR SHORES.

On this subject I shall not say much; I have before observed, that of a thousand vessels which might be supposed to have sailed on this mad expedition, not more than three hundred will, in all probability, be enabled to vomit their unhallowed crews upon this blessed shore; *there* they will

be received by the British army—an army with which I have served in each quarter of the globe; I know its merits, I know its foibles, I know it well; and I am as fully convinced, as I am that I now write, that this army as far surpasses all others in bravery as British seamen surpass all others in skill: to it I most willingly consign, without the least fear of the consequence, all who may land.

Of the 300 vessels, with 30,000 men on board, supposed to have escaped our general attack on the enemy's flotillas, few can remain together, for their escaping must be owing to separation. I am confident, therefore, that any force landed by the enemy in this country, at any one point, will never exceed 4,000 men; I rather think it never will exceed even 1,000. This is a force too contemptible to remain long with their arms in their hands; and no hostile Frenchman, I am convinced, will ever be seen in England, unless as a prisoner, fifteen miles from the shore.

There is one point, however, to which I should like to call the attention of every military man, and that is, the moment when the enemy, *whatever their force*, endeavour to land: this is a moment when the British, *however unequal their numbers, must oppose them*; it is a moment, *if once lost, never to be regained*.

On that ever-memorable descent of the British army on the sands of Egypt, if the French general had, instead of remaining on the top of his sand hills, descended to the high water mark, and *there* boldly opposed our troops, when getting out of their boats, the issue of that glorious day *might and most likely would have been different* from what it was—let us profit by experience. *There* a mild climate and a temperate atmosphere had not benumbed the extremities of the pent-up troops, nor had their confinement exceeded seven hours; but *here*, whatever force may be *fortunate enough to land*, will have been confined at least twenty-four, most probably thirty-six hours, in a cold, boisterous,

and stormy clime; and when landed, cramped, cold, wet, sea-sick, and half dead, will for some time be fitter for an hospital than to act offensively in the field. I therefore hold it to be the *indispensable duty* of every military body, *however unequal in number*, to *attack the enemy*, when *getting out of their boats*: they should not pollute the shore; I would meet them knee deep, and slay them in the water.

Though I doubt not that most of the necessary precautions for driving and laying waste the country in the event of the enemy's landing in *great force* on our coasts have already been taken; for, whatever be our opinions, it is necessary to be prepared for the worst, to foresee, and to *consider* even as *likely* to happen, the most untoward events; although, I say, I doubt not that *most* of the necessary precautions are taken, such as driving back horses and cattle, destroying bridges, breaking up roads, burning corn, hay, and straw, &c., &c., yet, there appears to me to be *one* which has generally been overlooked, or, at least, I have not yet heard any thing about it, and that is the filling up of wells, and the destroying of pumps, which ought certainly to be done, and proper persons should be appointed for that purpose; ~~the wells might be filled up~~ with any kind of rubbish in a very short time, and the heads of the pumps might be *saved* off in still less; an army cannot exist without water, and the French would not find it, like my great predecessor in name, by digging holes on the beach.

I have now sketched the three heads under which I proposed to consider the attempt of the enemy to invade this country, although what I *have said* is nothing, when compared to what *might be said* under each of them. Yet it appears, from the foregoing observations, that, in the strict sense of the word, the enemy's ports *cannot be blockaded*, and that the Brest and Texel fleets must have, *at times, opportunities of escaping*; that their destination would most likely be Ireland and Scotland; but that it is *highly probable*

that, before they reached either, they would be *intercepted* by some of our squadrons, which would *inevitably frustrate* those parts of the enemy's enterprise. It appears also, that though the Brest and Texel fleets *can get out unseen* by our own, under certain circumstances, yet that the flotillas, in the various ports of the Channel, *cannot get out unnoticed* by our cruizers; this *I hold to be impossible*; it appears also that, in all human probability, more than half of the latter will be destroyed on their passage, that those who escape *will owe their safety to dispersion*, and that *consequently the enemy will not be able to land in force* at any one point.

The day on which the attempt shall be made will be glorious to England—will be dreadful to France. Death itself shall walk upon the face of the waters. What has hitherto been done upon the sea, shall appear but the amusement of children, when compared to the dreadful carnage of that eventful day—the floating carcasses of slaughtered myriads, thrown back on their own shores, shall be the mute harbingers of their compatriots' fate.

With a firm reliance on the continuance of the favour of Divine Providence to this happy country, from the justice of its cause; and depending on the high-minded spirit of Britons, on the skill of our seamen, on the valour of our soldiers, and on the ardent patriotism of all, I as confidently look forward to the happy issue of this important conflict, as I do to the accomplishment of any one thing which appears certain, but which has not yet taken place.

On the fate of *this enterprise* appears also to hang that of Bonaparte himself, for *if it does not succeed*, it will be his LAST; nor can I help considering its discomfiture as the first great step to hurl that tyrant from his tottering throne. These, Sir, are the opinions of

NEARCHUS.

No. V.

Historical Memorandum on the Red Flag.

To the Publisher of Steel's Navy List.

SIR,

YOUR observations on the "revival of the Red Flag," in your list for December last, did not seem to me to be founded on fact; but I waited until the one for this month made its appearance, to see if you had corrected your mistake. You do, indeed, in this letter say, "by desire of a correspondent, we again *repeat*, that the red flag was hoisted at the main, by the admiral of the fleet, prior to the union of the *kingdoms* of England and Scotland." The historical date is here correct; but you *do not repeat* the assertion, for in your List of the preceding month, you informed us that "the red flag had given way to that of the union, in consequence of the union of the two *crowns*, in the person of James I. in 1603."

Now the change in the flag borne by the admiral of the fleet did not take place till the reign of the last of the Stuarts, in the eighteenth century. Sir Cloudesley Shovel was the last English admiral who displayed the red flag at the main, as the symbol of the admiral of the fleet's presence: he perished by shipwreck, returning from the Mediterranean to England, in the very year of the Union, that is, in 1707.

In making these observations, Sir, I have no other motive than that of wishing to point out the real cause for thus changing what was generally the emblem of the senior admiral of his Majesty's royal navy, and, with your permission, will add the following particulars.

On the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, in the reign of Queen Anne, the St. George's cross, formerly worn by the ships of the former, and the St. Andrew's cross of the latter, were united in the upper dexter quarter, on

either of the fields common to each nation—red, white, and blue.

The admirals of the British navy, at that time, did not exceed nine in number; their respective ranks was indicated by a flag of one of these colours at either mast head; the red always senior, and the blue junior, whilst the admiral of the fleet's former red flag was substituted by the union jack. Thus, the absurd story of its having been stolen by a Dutch boy, from a ship in the Downs, is set at nought.

The rapid growth and importance of the royal navy, after the union of the two kingdoms, requiring for its guidance more admirals than nine, they became increased to a hundred and forty-two. The recent revival then of the red flag only gives to admirals the privilege of wearing a flag of each colour at the main, instead of being restricted to the white and the blue, leaving, as formerly, the fore and mizen masts to the vice and rear admirals. I trust, however, that it will last as long as does our country, a nautical monument of the brilliant battle of Trafalgar.

The union still remains the flag of the admiral of the fleet, who, with only three exceptions, has, during the last fifty years, always been the senior admiral in the service. One of these exceptions was Lord Anson, so appointed over the head of Sir William Rowley, who, however, reached the same station on his lordship's death in 1762. Another instance was that of Lord Hawke, when he stepped over Admiral Osborne, who resigned in consequence, but was granted a pension of twelve hundred pounds per annum. The third case was of a more extraordinary nature, for there were, in fact, two admirals of the fleet. This occurred in the last war, when that good and immortal man, who, when a Lord of the Admiralty, refused to sign the death-warrant of the sacrificed Byng, was the senior flag officer on the list, but who, from bodily infirmity, was incapable of active duties. His Majesty, on that occasion, authorized Lord

Howe, though only the fifth in rank after the venerable Forbes, to wear the union jack, the proud distinction of the admiral of the fleet.

I am, Sir, &c.

BUNTIN.

16th January, 1806.

No. VI.

Captain BEAVER to Vice-Admiral the Honourable Sir ALEXANDER COCHRANE, K. B., detailing the occurrences mentioned in pp. 174 to 177.

*His Majesty's ship, Acasta,
La Guira, 19th of July, 1808.*

SIR,

HAVING sailed from Barbadoes on the evening of the 9th instant, I anchored at dark on the 11th, off Pampatar, where, having the next morning procured a pilot and landed five Spaniards, I proceeded to Cumana, off which place I arrived in the forenoon of the 13th; and, having seen the Governor, delivered to him your despatches, procured another pilot, and landed eighty-two Spaniards. I sailed at five in the evening for La Guira.

The latter port I made on the morning of the 15th, and while standing in for the shore, with the cartel flag flying, I observed a brig under French colours just coming to an anchor; she had arrived the preceding night, from Cayenne, with despatches from Bayonne, and had anchored about two miles below the town, to which she was now removing. I was never nearer than five miles to her, and could not have thrown a shot over her, before she was close under the Spanish batteries; therefore, charged as I was with a pacific mission, I attempted not to chace, suffering her rather to

enter the port unmolested, than do any thing which might at all derange the new aspect of affairs. But I claimed her of the Spanish government, as you will perceive by my letter numbered I.

Having stood close in to the town, and sent an officer in a boat under a flag of truce, with my letters to the Commandant of La Guira, and to the Captain-General of Venezuela, he was met by another boat, who took them from him, and we stood out to sea.

The next morning (the 16th) a white flag being hoisted on shore, I anchored close under the town, and having left orders with my first lieutenant, to be in constant preparation for battle, to be ready to cut or slip, and to act offensively against whoever might be the aggressor; to suffer no communication whatever with either vessels or the shore, until my return, and at all events to chase and seize the French brig, if she attempted to go to sea; I started off for the Caraccas.

Just before I set out on the journey, the Captain of the French brig returned, exceedingly displeased (I was told), having been publicly insulted in the capital.

About three o'clock I arrived at the city, and presented your despatches to the Captain-general, who received me very coldly, or rather uncivilly, observing that the hour was very inconvenient to him or to me, and that as I had not dined, I had better go and get some dinner, and return to him in a couple of hours. My reception was not, certainly, what was due to me from my rank and mission; I was not even asked to sit down, nor could the meanest officer have been treated with more neglect.

On entering the city, I had observed a great effervescence among the people, an undulation (if I may so express myself) which either precedes or follows a popular commotion; and, as I entered the hotel, I was surrounded by inhabitants of almost every class, all of them clamorous for news.

The French captain, who arrived yesterday morning, brought intelligence of every thing which had taken place in Spain, in favour of France, announced the accession of Joseph Napoleon to the Spanish throne, and conveyed orders to the Governor from the French Emperor. The town was immediately in arms. Ten thousand of its inhabitants surrounded the residence of the Captain-general, demanding the proclamation of Ferdinand the Seventh, as their King, which he promised to do the next day; but this would not satisfy them. They proclaimed him in form, by heralds, throughout the city that same evening, and placed his portrait, illuminated, in the gallery of the Town-house.

The French were first publicly insulted in the coffee-house, whence they were obliged to withdraw. The captain left the Caraccas privately, about eight o'clock that night, escorted by a detachment of soldiers, and so saved his life; for about ten o'clock his person was demanded of the Governor, by the populace, and when they learned that he was gone, three hundred followed him on the road to put him to death.

Coldly received by the Governor, I was, on the contrary, surrounded by all the respectable people of the city, the military officers included, and hailed as their deliverer. The news which I gave them from Cadiz was devoured with avidity, and produced enthusiastic shouts of gratitude to England.

Returning to the Captain-general about five o'clock, the first thing I demanded was, the delivery to me of the French corvette, or at least the permission to take possession of her in the roads. At the same time, I told him that, if she was not in the hands of the Spaniards on my return, I should take her myself. He replied that he would send orders to the Commandant of La Guira to fire upon me if I did; to which I simply replied, that the consequence would fall upon him; and I further told him, that I considered his

reception of me as rather that of an enemy, than of a friend he having treated the French captain with greater distinction, though he knew that Spain was at war with France. He replied that Spain had not commenced hostilities with France; upon which I asked him what he considered as war, if the captivity of two of his kings, and the taking possession of their capital, was not to be so considered? He only said that he knew nothing of it from the Spanish government, and that what your despatches informed him of he could not consider as official. Feeling indignant at the suspicion entertained, though not openly avowed by him, that my despatches were mere fabrications, I expatiated with considerable warmth on the folly and the injustice of such surmises, and in language so strong, that the interpreter frequently hesitated before he would translate it; I insisted, however, that this should be literally done.

The translation of your despatches not being finished that evening, I was promised an answer on the subject of the brig at eight o'clock the next morning. Anxious to get back to my ship, I had intended to have left the Caraccas at daylight, but this promise, added to the consideration that, in the present perturbed state of the public mind, I might render essential service to my country by remaining in the city, induced me to delay my departure.

About eight o'clock in the evening I returned to my hotel, which was still as crowded as before. The people having had time to reflect on the contradictory reports (for reports only had transpired to them) brought by the Frenchman and myself, they were greatly puzzled, and it was my employment, till near midnight, to relate events, explain circumstances, answer questions, dissipate the doubts of some, and confirm the wavering opinions of others, as to the truth of the intelligence which I had communicated to them. The general objection to the absolute belief of all I had asserted being summed up in these words: "If your ad-

miral from Cadiz could find time to transmit to us this intelligence, how happens it that we hear nothing from our own government, the Provisional Junta? Why did they not write also?"—To all which I could only reply, that the English admiral would write despatches in three minutes, which might take the junta three days to decide upon. That the vessel which brought them had a remarkably quick passage, and that I doubted not but Spanish vessels with the proper accounts were already on their way; and probably were near to La Guira.

Imagination was so much on the rack, as even to suggest that the French brig was in reality an English one, sent in as a means of introducing myself to the capital; that I had actually brought no intelligence, and that I was, in fact, a spy! These various rumours, however, did not prevent my being able to ascertain, that the English party were infinitely the most numerous and respectable, and that it was dangerous to be suspected even to be of the French. Before I left, the inhabitants, who had formerly indulged themselves in the custom of furnishing their rooms with the portraits of Bonaparte and his generals, burnt all those of the former, and turned to the wall the faces of the latter.

This evening the Captain-general sent an order to the French troops here (about forty of one hundred that came a year ago from Guadaloupe) to remain in their quarters, since, if they appeared in the streets, he could not be responsible for their security.

At eight o'clock on the following morning, I again visited the Captain-general; a junta extraordinary had been convened, and he requested that I would not depart till they broke up, when I should have an answer to my letter, and that to your despatches should be forwarded to me in a day or two. For four long hours, that is, until twelve o'clock, I waited under a Piazza, amongst the clerks and domestics, for the result of this extraordinary meeting, when his Excellency

the Captain-general informed me that they had decided on—*nothing!* but that I should have their decision that evening.

Vexed, fatigued, harassed, and disappointed, that is, with the Captain-general only, I took my leave of him, and quitted Caraccas about two o'clock.

During the twenty-three hours that I remained in the city, I was neither an idle spectator nor inattentive observer of the general movements, or opinions of its inhabitants; and, as far as so short a residence could enable me to form any judgment, I may venture to pronounce that they are extremely loyal and passionately attached to the Spanish branch of the Bourbon family; and so long as there is any probability of Ferdinand the Seventh returning to Madrid, they will remain attached to their parent country. But if that event does not soon occur, I think I can with equal certainty affirm, that they will declare themselves independent, in which, or in both cases indeed, but more particularly in the latter, they look to an alliance with England, as the only means of securing their freedom, and encouraging their commerce.

Conceiving it of importance to forward to you a relation of what has already passed, I dispatch *Le Serpent* with this communication, meaning to remain here, either at anchor, or under weigh, according to circumstances, until I receive your further orders; I am the more inclined to do this, because I think some change will take place in the actual government of this province, ere many days have elapsed; for the palsied hands of the present chief are ill calculated to hold its reins, in the present crisis. In such a moment, I conceive that an English frigate being on the spot may render essential service, both to England and Venezuela. Had I any authority so to do, I should not despair of being able to conclude a treaty of commerce with this province, that would be highly beneficial to both the contracting parties.

I beg of you, Sir, to make allowance for the haste in which I have been obliged to write this letter, unwilling to detain the vessel which carries it, while one more correct might have been penned.

I have the honour to be, &c.

P. BEAVER.

To the Hon. Sir A. Cochrane, K.B. &c. &c.

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